IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS

(Enlarged Edition)

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers" is a political document of prime importance. It gives a correct, penetrating and systematic answer to the question of how to assess the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction in their true light.

We are putting out this collection in order to help the readers to gain a better understanding of this important political document, the views of the Chinese people on the present world situation and the current struggle in the Taiwan Straits area.

Included in this booklet are the full text of *Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers,"* some important documents on the Taiwan issue, and a number of relevant editorials and commentaries of *Hongqi* (Red Flag) and *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), organs of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

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PART I

COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG ON "IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS"

Renmin Ribao Editorial Department, October 27, 1958

How to assess the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction in their true light is still a major problem in China and in the whole world as well. A lot of people have never been able to do this correctly. Imperialism and its lackeys in all countries are like the setting sun in the western sky, while socialism and the national revolutionary movements which have its support are like the rising sun in the eastern sky. This is the characteristic of our times. The days when the imperialists could ride roughshod where they pleased are gone for ever and they are on their last legs. It is the reactionaries that should fear the revolutionary forces, and not the other way round. At present, there are quite a few people who still fail to see this, who still cherish superstitions and illusions, who still stand in awe of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular. They still remain passive in face of this problem. All progressives, all Marxists and revolutionaries must do some persuading among these people so as to help the broad masses gain revolutionary confidence and determination, revolutionary foresight and firmness. This is an indispensable spiritual condition for quickening the triumphant advance of the revolutionary cause.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often told us that in considering a problem, one must grasp its essentials and not be misled by superficialities. During the last thirty-odd years, at every crucial moment in the class struggle in our country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has made a penetrating analysis of the state of the struggle on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, and has shown that all reactionaries are doomed and the revolutionary cause is bound to triumph. He uses the term "paper tiger" to describe imperialism and the reactionary forces which seem to be powerful but are actually weak; he uses the old saying "a single spark can start a prairie fire" to symbolize the new-born forces growing up day by day in the course of revolution, and on the basis of this estimation maps out his strategic plans. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea, that the forces of revolution are invincible and that the reactionary forces, though temporarily powerful, are bound to come to grief, has armed the Chinese Communists, educated and inspired the Chinese people and led us to our great victories. This wise conclusion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," has already been borne out by the victory of the Chinese revolution and it will continue to be borne out by the successful development of the cause of revolution in China and the whole world.

The editorial department of the magazine "Shijie Zhishi" (World Culture) has recently collected and published a series of excerpts from the articles, speeches and interviews of Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the theme that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." This is a matter of political significance. It is very valuable for the people's fight against imperialist aggression and oppression, especially that of U.S. imperialism. We publish here the material collected, with the addition of some important related materials and some stylistic changes and re-paragraphing.

The material falls into three parts. The first part deals with the idea that imperialism and all reactionaries representing the moribund forces have no future, and that their momentary rampancy means nothing but their last dying kicks. The second part points out that imperialism and all reactionaries are outwardly strong but inwardly feeble, and there is every reason for the revolutionaries to despise them, but they deserve our full attention in the course of every concrete struggle. The third part describes the essential features of the current international situation, in which the East wind prevails over the West wind and the forces of socialism have outstripped those of imperialism. Although most of these articles, speeches and interviews have already been published and only a small part has not appeared before, although they range over a period of twenty years and are published in the form of a collection, they still read like a fresh and integrated political essay. That is because the fundamental contradiction between imperialism and its lackeys on the one hand and the peoples of all lands on the other has not yet been solved, and because U.S. imperialism especially is baring its teeth and threatening world peace with an atomic war —a tense situation which exercises the minds of the oppressed and menaced people, who urgently demand the solution of this contradiction. That is why readers are naturally interested in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's discussion on this question of whether or not imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, which is the primary and major issue in the manifold problems relating to the solution of this contradiction.

I

In *On New Democracy,* a work of historic significance published in January 1940, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that capitalism has reached the stage of decay and death while communism is "sweeping the world with the momentum of a landslide and the power of a thunderbolt":

"Communism is at once the complete proletarian ideological system and a new social system. Different from any other ideological system or social system, it is the most complete, the most progressive, the most revolutionary and the most rational system since human history began. The ideological system and social system of feudalism have a place only in the museum of history. The ideological system and social system of capitalism have also become museum-pieces in one part of the world, in the Soviet Union, while in other countries they resemble 'a person on the brink of death sinking fast like the sun setting beyond the western hills,' and they too will soon be relegated to the museum. On the other hand, the communist ideological system and social system enjoy perpetual youth and are sweeping the world with the momentum of a landslide and the power of a thunderbolt."

In *On New Democracy,* Comrade Mao Tse-tung further pointed out that the unrestrained violence of all reactionaries representing the decaying forces means their last dying kicks:

"The unrestrained violence of all these dark forces of reaction, domestic and foreign, has brought calamity to our nation, but this very violence indicates that, while the dark forces have still some strength left, it is their final struggle and that the masses of the people are

approaching victory. This is true of China, of the East and of the whole world."

On June 17, 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, in an address delivered at a memorial meeting for Chinese revolutionary martyrs, that the more reactionary the reactionaries become the nearer they are to their doom:

"All reactionaries attempt to stamp out revolution by mass murder and think that the more people they massacre, the weaker the revolution will become. But, contrary to this reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more people the reactionaries massacre, the greater becomes the strength of the revolution and the nearer the reactionaries come to their doom. This is an irresistible law."

On November 6, 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. celebrating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution declared:

"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph. 'To pick up a rock only to crush his own toes' is a Chinese saying used to describe the act of some fools. The reactionaries of every country are this kind of fool. Their multiform persecution of revolutionary people can only end in arousing the people to wider and more intensive revolution. Didn't the multiform persecution of revolutionary people by the Russian tsar and Chiang Kai-shek serve precisely to stimulate the great Russian and Chinese revolutions?"

In a speech entitled *New-Democratic Constitutional Government* delivered in Yenan on February 20, 1940 before the As-

sociation for Advancing the Establishment of Constitutional Government, Comrade Mao Tse-tung exposed Chiang Kai-shek's deceitful propaganda about the establishment of a constitutional government and showed that in the end "their (the reactionaries') schemes always backfire."

"The die-hards in the world may be die-hards today, tomorrow and even the day after tomorrow, but they cannot be die-hards for ever; they will have to change in the end. Take Wang Ching-wei for instance; after being a die-hard for a long time, he could not keep on playing the die-hard any longer in the anti-Japanese arena and had to fall into the arms of Japan. Take Chang Kuo-tao as another example; he was also a die-hard for a long time, but he, too, took to his heels after we held a number of meetings to wrestle with him. The die-hards are hard, but not hard unto death; after playing the die-hard for some time, in the end they have to change, to change into something so filthy as to be beneath contempt, like a heap of dog's dirt. There are some who have changed for the better because they came to see their mistakes after we had repeatedly wrestled with them. At any rate, it is certain that the die-hards will change. They always have a number of schemes in hand, schemes to reap profits at the expense of others, to act the double-dealer, and so on. But their schemes always backfire. They always start by doing harm to others but end by ruining themselves. We once said that Chamberlain was 'picking up a rock only to crush his own toes,' and we were right. Chamberlain was formerly bent on picking up Hitler as a rock to crush the toes of the people of the Soviet Union, but on that day in September last year, when war broke out between

Germany on the one side and England and France on the other, the rock in Chamberlain's hand dropped on his own toes. It is still hurting him. There are many similar instances in China as well. Yuan Shih-kai wanted to crush the toes of the common people, but he finally got his own crushed and died after having been emperor for a few months. Tuan Chi-jui, Hsu Shih-chang, Tsao Kun, Wu Pei-fu and others all wanted to repress the people, but were all overthrown by the people in the end. Anyone who tries to reap profits at the expense of others will come to a bad end."

On April 24, 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered his famous political report *On Coalition Government* to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. In the section headed "Our Specific Programme" Comrade Mao Tse-tung warned against the attempt of the Kuomintang reactionaries to carry out anti-popular conspiratorial activities by convoking a "national assembly," and predicted that by following this reactionary line "they are putting a noose round their own necks" and are heading for disaster. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The measures which our anti-popular heroes are going to adopt in accordance with their line of disunity, will lead them to disaster. They are putting a noose round their own necks which will never be loosened, and this noose is the 'national assembly.' They planned to use the so-called 'national assembly' as a magic wand, first, to counter the proposal for a coalition government, second, to maintain the dictatorship, and third, to find some justification for a civil war. History, however, will by its own logic take a course contrary to their wishes, and they are 'picking up a rock only to crush their own toes.' "

In a commentary *On the Danger of the Hurley Policy* that he wrote for the *Hsinhua News Agency* on July 12, 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the U.S. policy towards China had created the crisis of civil war in China; he warned that the U.S. policy, which was hostile to the Chinese people, would result in "endless trial and tribulation" for the U.S. government and people:

"From the lips of the selfsame Hurley, the Kuomintang government represented by Chiang Kai-shek suddenly became the Beauty while the Chinese Communist Party became the Beast; he even bluntly declared that the United States would co-operate only with Chiang Kai-shek and not with the Chinese Communist Party. This, of course, is not just Hurley's personal view but the view of a group in the U.S. government; it is a wrong and dangerous view. . . . If Hurley's policy continues, the U.S. government will fall hopelessly into the deep, stinking cesspool of Chinese reaction; it will place itself in opposition to the hundreds of millions of awakened or awakening Chinese people, and become a hindrance to the Anti-Japanese War at present and to world peace in the future. . . . One thing is certain however: if Hurley's policy, which aids and abets the anti-popular forces in China in opposition to such vast numbers of Chinese people, is to continue, it will place a crushing burden on the government and people of the United States and plunge them into endless trial and tribulation; this is a point that should be brought home to the people of the United States."

In his concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China on June 11, 1945, which was later published under the title "How the Foolish Old Man Removed the Mountains," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The U.S. government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek and opposing the Communist Party is proof of the unrestrained violence of the American reactionaries. But all the scheming of the reactionaries, domestic or foreign, to prevent the Chinese people from achieving victory is doomed to failure. In the world today democracy is the main current and reaction against democracy is only a little eddy. Reaction is attempting to sweep away the movement of national independence and people's democracy, but this little eddy can never become the main current."

The reactionaries are bound to collapse and the revolution is bound to triumph. In his concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung called on the people to have confidence in the certain victory of the revolution. He cited the ancient Chinese fable, "How the Foolish Old Man Removed the Mountains," to show that provided the revolutionary people have confidence, do not fear the reactionaries and have the determination to persist in the struggle to the very end, the revolution will certainly triumph:

"In popularizing the line of the Congress, our aim is to inspire the whole Party and the whole people with confidence that the victory of the revolution is certain. First of all, we must inspire the vanguard of the revolution so that, resolute and ready for self-sacrifice, they will overcome all difficulties in the struggle for victory. This, however, is not enough; we must also inspire the mass of the people throughout the country so that they too will join us whole-heartedly in the common struggle for victory. We must instil into them the belief that China belongs to the Chinese people and not to the reactionaries. There is an ancient fable called 'How the

Foolish Old Man Removed the Mountains.' It is the story of an old fellow in North China in ancient times, known as the Foolish Old Man of the North Mountain. His house faced south and its doorway was blocked by two big mountains, Taihang and Wangwu. With great determination, he led his sons to dig away the mountains with pickaxes. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, watched their attempts and laughed, saying: 'What fools you are! You and your sons will never be able to shift those great mountains.' The Foolish Old Man replied: 'When I die there are my sons; when they die there will be their sons, and so on for ever. As for those two mountains, high as they are, they cannot become higher, but, on the contrary, with every bit dug away they will become lower and lower. Why can't we dig them away?' He thus refuted the Wise Old Man's mistaken view and resolutely went on digging day after day. His perseverance finally touched the heart of God in heaven who sent down two celestial beings to carry the mountains away on their backs. Today there are two big mountains lying like a dead weight on the backs of the Chinese people: imperialism and feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long been determined to remove them. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we too may touch the heart of God in heaven. This God is none other than the mass of the Chinese people. If they rise and dig together with us, why can't we dig away these two mountains?"

In the commentary *On the White Paper* that he wrote for the *Hsinhua News Agency* on August 11, 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a very penetrating analysis of the two entirely different kinds of logic governing the development of the reactionary forces and that of the people's forces. He also pointed out that advanced people must organize forces to struggle against the reactionaries and that they must educate, unite and win over all those who are still wavering and vacillating so as to isolate the reactionaries completely:

"The logic of the imperialists is different from that of the people in the following way. Disrupt, fail, disrupt again, fail again, till their doom — that is the logic of imperialism and all reactionaries in the world. They will certainly not go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. We say: 'Imperialism is very vicious.' That means that its fundamental nature cannot be changed. Till their doom, the imperialist elements will not lay down the butcher's knife, nor will they ever turn into Buddhas.

"Struggle, fail, struggle again, fail again, struggle again, till their victory — that is the logic of the people. They will certainly not go against this logic either. This is another Marxist law. The revolution of the Russian people was based on this law, and the revolution of the Chinese people is also based on this law.

"Class struggle in which some classes emerge victorious while others are eliminated — that is history. That is the history of several thousand years of civilization. The interpretation of history from this viewpoint is called historical materialism. The contrary viewpoint is historical idealism.

"The method of self-criticism can only be used among the people. It is vain to hope that the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries can be persuaded to become good-hearted and repentant. The only way is to organize struggle against them — such as, for example, our People's Liberation War and our agrarian revolution; to expose imperialism, 'goad' them, defeat them and punish their criminal deeds, and 'only permit them to behave

properly and restrain them from speaking or acting wildly.' Only after that can we hope to deal with the foreign imperialist countries in conditions of equality and mutual benefit. Only after that can we hope to educate — so as to turn bad people into good people — landlords, bureaucrat-bourgeois elements and Kuomintang reactionaries and their accomplices, who have been disarmed and surrendered, to try and turn them into good people as far as possible. Many Chinese liberals — the old democratic elements, supporters of the so-called 'democratic individualism' upon whom Truman, Marshall, Acheson and Leighton Stuart pin their hopes and whom they constantly strive to win over, often find themselves in a state of passivity and often hold incorrect views with regard to problems — with regard to the American rulers, the Kuomintang, the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party. This is because they do not use or are against using the method of historical materialism to examine problems.

"Advanced people, Communists, all democratic parties and groups, politically awakened workers, young students and progressive intellectuals have the duty to unite the middle strata, middle-of-the-roaders, backward elements of various strata and all those who are still wavering and vacillating within People's China (these people will continue to waver for a long time, they will waver again after being firm, and will waver whenever they encounter difficulties), to give them well-meaning help, to criticize their wavering, to educate them and win them over to the side of the broad mass of the people and prevent imperialism from dragging them over to its side, to help them shed their illusions and prepare for struggle. Do not think that no more work is needed

after victory. Work, much more work and patient work, has to be done before these people can be genuinely won over. Once they are won over, imperialism will be completely isolated, Acheson's tricks will not work."

II

In the editorial *The Turning-Point in World War II* that he wrote for the Yenan *Jiefang Ribao* (Liberation Daily) on October 12, 1942, Comrade Mao Tse-tung analysed the essential nature of the reactionary forces which are outwardly strong but inwardly weak, and reminded the revolutionary people not to be misled by superficial phenomena. He wrote:

"In the history of mankind all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably exert themselves to give a dying kick at the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a while by this display of strength cloaking actual exhaustion and fail to grasp the essential point that their enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory. The rise of the fascist forces and the war of aggression they waged for some years are precisely an example of such a dying kick, while in the war the dying kick took the form of the attack on Stalingrad. At this turning-point in history many people in the world anti-fascist front are misled by the ferocious appearance of fascism and fail to see its real substance."

The reactionaries are always boasting of their military strength which seems to be powerful. Among the people themselves, there are a certain number who, in varying degrees, fears of the military strength of the reactionaries. This is the viewpoint that "weapons decide everything." In his well-known

treatise *On the Protracted War* written in May 1938, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a profound criticism of this viewpoint:

". . . The so-called theory of 'weapons decide everything' . . . is a mechanistic theory of war, a subjectivist and one-sided view. Our view is contrary to this; we see not only weapons but also the power of man. Weapons are an important factor in war but not the decisive one; it is man and not material that is decisive. The contest of forces is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also one of the power and morale of man. Military and economic power must be controlled by man."

In August 1946, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave an interview to the American journalist Anna Louise Strong and expressed his famous viewpoint that all reactionaries are paper tigers. Following is the full text of the interview:

"Strong asks: Do you think there is hope for a political and peaceful settlement of the Chinese question in the near future?

"Mao answers: That depends on the attitude of the government of the United States. If the American people hold back the hands of the American reactionaries who are helping Chiang Kai-shek fight the civil war, there is hope for peace.

"Q. Suppose the United States gives Chiang Kai-shek no more aid than it has already done, how long can Chiang Kai-shek keep on fighting?

"A. Over a year.

"Q. Can Chiang Kai-shek possibly last that long economically?

"A. Yes, he can.

"Q. What if the United States makes it clear that it will give Chiang Kai-shek no more aid from now on?

"A. As yet, there is no sign that the United States government and Chiang Kai-shek have any desire to stop the war at an early date.

"Q. How long can the Communist Party keep going?

"A. As far as our desires are concerned, we don't want to fight even for a day. But if the circumstances force us to fight, we are able to fight to the finish.

"Q. Suppose the American people ask why the Communist Party fights the war, what should I answer?

"A. Because Chiang Kai-shek wants to massacre the Chinese people and they must defend themselves in order to survive. This the Americans can understand.

"Q. What do you think of the possibility that the United States will go to war against the Soviet Union?

"A. The propaganda about an anti-Soviet war has two aspects. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism is really preparing a war against the Soviet Union; the current talk about an anti-Soviet war and other anti-Soviet propaganda is the political preparation for an anti-Soviet war. On the other hand, this propaganda is a smokescreen put up by the U.S. reactionaries to cover up the many real contradictions U.S. imperialism is now facing. These are the contradictions between the U.S. reactionaries and the American people and those between U.S. imperialism and other capitalist countries and colonial and semi-colonial countries. At present the U.S. slogan calling for anti-Soviet war actually means the oppression of the American people and the expansion of the U.S. aggressive forces in the capitalist world. As you know, Hitler and his partners, the Japanese warlords, used the anti-Soviet slogan for a long time as an

excuse for enslaving the people in their own countries and carrying out aggression against other countries. Now the U.S. reactionaries are doing precisely the same thing.

"To start a war, the U.S. reactionaries must first launch an attack against the American people. They are already attacking the American people. They have been oppressing the American workers and democratic elements politically and economically, and are preparing to institute fascism in the United States. The American people should rise to resist the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and I believe they will.

"Between the United States and the Soviet Union there stretches a vast territory, consisting of many capitalist countries and colonial and semi-colonial countries on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa; before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack against the Soviet Union is out of the question. In the Pacific, the U.S. now controls a greater area than all of the former British spheres of influence. It controls Japan, Kuomintang-ruled China, half of Korea and the South Pacific; it has long dominated Central and South America; it also seeks to control the entire British Empire and Western Europe. Under various pretexts the United States is conducting large-scale military deployment and establishing military bases in many countries. The U.S. reactionaries say that all the naval bases they have established or are preparing to establish all over the world are directed against the Soviet Union. True, these military bases are directed against the Soviet Union. But up to now it has not been the Soviet Union, but those countries in which military bases have been established, that have suffered from U.S. aggression first. I believe

it won't be long before these countries come to realize who is really oppressing them, the Soviet Union or the United States. The U.S. reactionaries will one day find themselves opposed by the people throughout the world.

"Of course, I do not mean to say that the U.S. reactionaries do not intend to attack the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the defender of world peace, the powerful factor in obstructing the establishment of world domination by the U.S. reactionaries. With the Soviet Union in existence, the ambitions of the U.S. and world reactionaries cannot be realized at all. That is why the U.S. reactionaries hate the Soviet Union so intensely and actually dream of wiping out this socialist country. But, today, not long after the end of World War II, the U.S. reactionaries' strident and reckless talk about a U.S.-Soviet war and the foul atmosphere they are creating cannot but make one look at their real aims. It turns out that under the anti-Soviet slogan, they are frantically attacking the American workers and democratic elements and turning all those countries that are the object of their expansion into U.S. appendages. I think the American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite to repel the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their lackeys in various countries. Only victory in this struggle can avert a third world war; it cannot be averted otherwise.

"Q. This is an excellent explanation. But suppose the United States uses the atom bomb? And suppose the United States bombs the Soviet Union from its bases in Iceland, Okinawa and China?

"A. The atom bomb is a paper tiger with which the U.S. reactionaries try to terrify the people. It looks terrible, but in fact is not. Of course, the atom bomb

is a weapon of mass destruction, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new weapons.

"All reactionaries are paper tigers. They look formidable, but actually their strength is not so great. Taking the long view, the really powerful strength lies not with the reactionaries, but with the people. Before the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia, which side in Russia was really strong? Superficially, the tsar at the time was powerful; but he was swept away at a single blast by the February Revolution. In the final analysis, the strength of Russia was on the side of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers. The tsar was only a paper tiger. Wasn't Hitler once considered very powerful? But history proved that he was a paper tiger. So were Mussolini and Japanese imperialism. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the democracy- and freedom-loving people of all countries are more powerful than expected.

"Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are also paper tigers. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is exceedingly powerful, and the Chinese reactionaries are using the 'power' of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But the U.S. reactionaries, like all reactionaries in history, will be proved to have no strength at all. In the United States, there are people of another kind who really have strength — they are the American people.

"Take the situation in China for instance. What we rely on is only millet plus rifles, but history will finally prove this millet-plus-rifles stronger than Chiang Kai-shek's aircraft-plus-tanks. Although many difficulties still confront the Chinese people, although the Chinese

people will suffer hardships for a long time under the joint attacks of U.S. imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries, one day these reactionaries will fail and we shall win. The reason is none other than the fact that the reactionaries represent reaction, while we represent progress."

On December 25, 1947, Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered the report *The Present Situation and Our Tasks* at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. In this report, he said:

"Having soberly appraised the international and domestic situations on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese Communist Party is convinced that all the attacks of the reactionaries at home and abroad not only must but can be defeated. When the sky seemed overcast, we pointed out that the darkness was only temporary, that the storm would quickly blow over and the light of day would soon shine forth. When Chiang Kai-shek's gang launched the nation-wide counter-revolutionary war in July 1946, they thought that the People's Liberation Army could be defeated in three to six months. They calculated that with a regular army of two million, more than one million irregulars and over one million in the military establishments and armed units in the rear, they had a total armed strength of more than four million; that they had spent adequate time in completing their preparations for the offensive; that they had regained control of the big cities; that they held areas embracing a population of more than 300 million; that they had taken over all the equipment of the one million invading Japanese troops in China; and that they had obtained huge military and financial aid

from the U.S. government. Furthermore, they thought that the People's Liberation Army had been worn out in the eight years of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and was far inferior to the Kuomintang army in numbers and equipment; that the population of the Chinese liberated areas was only a little more than 100 million;[1] and that in most of those areas the reactionary feudal forces had not yet been cleaned up, the agrarian reform not yet universally and thoroughly carried out and thus the rear of the People's Liberation Army not yet consolidated. On this basis Chiang Kai-shek's gang, ignoring the Chinese people's desire for peace, finally tore up the cease-fire agreement concluded between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in January 1946 and the resolutions adopted by the Political Consultative Conference of all parties, and launched an adventurist war. We said then that the enemy's superiority in military strength was but transient and was a factor that could produce only temporary effects, and the aid from U.S. imperialism was likewise a factor that could produce only temporary effects, while the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek's war and the support or opposition of the people were factors which would have constant effects. In this respect, the People's Liberation Army enjoys superiority. By its patriotic, just and revolutionary nature, the war waged by the People's Liberation Army is bound to gain the support of the people throughout the country. Here lies the political foundation for victory over Chiang Kai-shek. Our experience in the eighteen months of war has fully confirmed this judgement."

. . . . . .

"Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary clique ventured to launch the nation-wide anti-popular civil war in 1946 because they counted not only on their own military superiority but principally upon what they regarded as the most powerful and invincible force in the world — U.S. imperialism with the atom bomb in its hand. On the one hand, they thought that U.S. imperialism could meet their military and financial needs with a steady flow of supplies, and on the other, they fondly dreamed of an 'inevitable war between the United States and the Soviet Union' and 'the inevitable outbreak of a third world war.' Such reliance on U.S. imperialism is a common characteristic of the reactionary forces in every country of the world since the conclusion of World War II. It is a reflection of the serious blow dealt to world capitalism in World War II, of the weakness of the reactionary forces in all countries, of their panic and their loss of confidence and of the great strength of the revolutionary forces of the world, which make the reactionaries of all countries feel that there is no way out except to rely on the aid of U.S. imperialism. But is post-war U.S. imperialism really as powerful as Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionaries of other countries imagine? Can it really send them a steady flow of supplies? Not so. The economic power of U.S. imperialism, increased during World War II, faces unstable and daily-shrinking domestic and foreign markets. A further shrinking of the markets will lead to an economic crisis. The wartime boom the United States is enjoying is only a temporary phenom-

[1] The population census at that time was inaccurate and generally put the population of the country at 450 million. After liberation, the accurate census showed that China had a population of 600 million. — Note of *Renmin Ribao* Ed.

enon. Its strength is only superficial and transient. The crisis daily menaces U.S. imperialism like a volcano; U.S. imperialism is just sitting on the volcano. Under the stress of this situation, the U.S. imperialists have drawn up their plan for enslaving the world and are rampaging like wild beasts into Europe, Asia and other areas. Mustering the reactionary forces in all countries — the human dregs cast off by their people — they have organized an imperialist, anti-democratic camp to oppose all the democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union and prepare for war, in the hope that some day in the remote future they may launch a third world war and defeat the forces of democracy. This is a wild scheme. The democratic forces of the world must and certainly can defeat it. The strength of the world anti-imperialist camp exceeds that of the imperialist camp. It is we who enjoy superiority, not the enemy."

In the article *Revolutionary Forces of the World Rally to Combat Imperialist Aggression*, which he wrote for the journal *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* in November 1948, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that "it would be a very big mistake to overestimate the strength of the enemy and to underestimate that of revolution."

"After the victory in World War II, U.S. imperialism, which has taken the place of fascist Germany, Italy and Japan, together with its stooges in various countries, is frantically preparing for a new world war and is menacing the whole world. This reflects the extreme decay of the capitalist world and its fear of impending doom. This enemy still has strength. Therefore, all the revolutionary forces within each country, and the revolutionary forces of all countries, must be united. An anti-imperialist united front headed by the Soviet Union must be

formed and a correct policy pursued, otherwise victory cannot be achieved. This enemy's foundations are weak. It is divided and at odds internally, is divorced from the people and is confronted with an insoluble economic crisis. Therefore, it can be defeated. It would be a very big mistake to overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate that of revolution."

On January 18, 1948, in the directive *Concerning Several Important Questions in the Present Party Policy* which he wrote for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to be issued within the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us that generally and strategically we should despise the enemy, while at the same time we should pay attention to the art of struggle and in relation to each separate part and each concrete struggle should take him seriously.

"We are against overestimating the strength of the enemy. For example, to be afraid of U.S. imperialism, to be afraid of going to fight in the Kuomintang-controlled area, to be afraid of abolishing the comprador-feudal system, of distributing the landlords' land or of confiscating bureaucrat-capital, to be afraid of a long-drawn out war — such fears are incorrect. World capitalism and the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique in China are already rotten; they have no future. We are right to despise them. We are certainly able and have the confidence to defeat all the enemies of the Chinese people at home and abroad. But with regard to each separate part and in each concrete struggle (whether military, political, economic or ideological), we must never take the enemy lightly. On the contrary, we should take him seriously, and concentrate all our efforts on the fight. Only thus can victory be achieved. While we correctly point out that generally and strategically

we should despise the enemy, we must never take him lightly in regard to each separate part and in each concrete struggle. If we overestimate his total strength and consequently fear to overthrow him and go forward to gain victory, we shall be committing the error of Right opportunism. If we are not careful about each separate part and each particular struggle; if we do not pay attention to the art of struggle; if we do not concentrate our entire efforts on the struggle or fail to pay attention to winning over all the allies whom we should win over (middle peasants, independent industrialists and merchants, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and the intellectuals in general, the general run of public functionaries, the professionals and the enlightened gentry), then we shall fall into the error of 'Left' opportunism."

On November 18, 1957, in his speech at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"In 1946 when Chiang Kai-shek attacked us, many of our comrades and people throughout the country felt very much worried: Could the war be won? I myself was also worried about this. But of one thing we were confident. At that time an American journalist named Anna Louise Strong came to Yenan. We discussed many questions in our talks, including Chiang Kai-shek, Hitler, Japan, the United States and the atom bomb. I said that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers. The reason was that they were divorced from the people. You see, wasn't Hitler a paper tiger? Wasn't Hitler overthrown? I also said that the tsar was a paper tiger, the Chinese emperor was a paper tiger,

Japanese imperialism was a paper tiger. You see, they were all kicked out. U.S. imperialism has not yet fallen and it has the atom bomb. I believe it will also fall. It is also a paper tiger. Chiang Kai-shek was very powerful. He had more than four million regular troops. At that time we were in Yenan. What was the population of Yenan? Seven thousand. How many troops did we have? We had 900,000 guerrillas, all divided up among scores of bases by Chiang Kai-shek. But we said Chiang Kai-shek was only a paper tiger and we would certainly defeat him. In order to struggle against the enemy, we have formed the concept over a long period that strategically we should despise all enemies, but tactically take them seriously. This also means that we should despise the enemy in general but take him seriously on each and every concrete question. If we do not despise him in general we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two people. Already in their time they declared that world capitalism would be overthrown. But, if we do not take each concrete question and each particular enemy seriously we shall be committing the error of adventurism. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy can only be annihilated bit by bit. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly: we know we can finish it. But when actually eating, we do it a mouthful at a time. It would be impossible to swallow the entire feast in a single mouthful. This is called a piecemeal solution. And in military literature, it is called smashing the enemy bit by bit."

III

Speaking at the Moscow meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries, on November 18, 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung analysed the international situation at that time and pointed out that the socialist forces have surpassed the imperialist forces and that the East wind has prevailed over the West wind. He said:

"I am of the opinion that the international situation has now reached a new turning-point. There are two winds in the world today: the East wind and the West wind. There is a Chinese saying: 'Either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind.' I think the characteristic of the situation today is that the East wind prevails over the West wind. That is to say, the socialist forces are overwhelmingly superior to the imperialist forces."

Addressing Chinese students studying in the Soviet Union on the day before he made the above-mentioned speech, that is on November 17, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The direction of the wind in the world has changed. In the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist camp either the West wind prevails over the East wind or the East wind prevails over the West wind. The whole world now has a population of 2,700 million, of which the various socialist countries account for nearly 1,000 million, the independent, former colonial countries make up more than 700 million, and the countries now struggling for independence or for complete independence and the capitalist countries with neutral tendencies have 600 million. The population of the imperialist camp is only about 400 million; moreover, they are divided internally. 'Earthquakes' may occur there. At present,

it is not the West wind which prevails over the East wind but the East wind that prevails over the West wind."

On November 6, 1957, speaking at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The imperialists pin their hope on war, in addition to staking their fate on the oppression of the peoples at home and those in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. But what can they expect from war? In the past half century, we have experienced two world wars. After World War I, the Great October Socialist Revolution took place in Russia. And after World War II, more revolutions took place in Eastern Europe and in the East. If the imperialist 'heroes' are determined to start a third world war, there is no other result they can achieve but hastening the complete destruction of the world capitalist system."

On February 27, 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered his speech *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* at the 11th enlarged session of the Supreme State Conference. In Part 10 of his speech, under the sub-heading "Can Bad Things Be Turned into Good Things?", he said:

"People in all countries of the world are now discussing whether or not a third world war will break out. In regard to this question, we must be psychologically prepared, and at the same time take an analytical view. We stand resolutely for peace and oppose war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards all disturbances: firstly, we are against it; secondly, we are not afraid of it. The First World War was followed by

the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism; then there will not be much room left in the world for the imperialists, while it is quite likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.

"Given specific conditions, the two aspects of a contradiction invariably turn into their respective opposites as a result of the struggle between them. Here, the conditions are important. Without specific conditions, neither of the two contradictory aspects can transform itself into its opposite. Of all the classes in the world the proletariat is the most eager to change its position, and next the semi-proletariat, for the former possesses nothing at all, while the latter is not much better off. The present situation, in which the United States controls a majority in the United Nations and dominates many parts of the world, is a transient one which will eventually be changed. China's situation as a poor country denied her rights in international affairs will also be changed — a poor country will be changed into a rich country, a country denied her rights will be changed into a country enjoying her rights—a transformation of things into their opposites. Here, the decisive conditions are the socialist system and the concerted efforts of a united people."

On June 28, 1950, when U.S. imperialism openly launched its aggressive war against Korea and invaded China's territory of Taiwan by armed force, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following statement in his address to the Eighth Meeting of the Central People's Government Council:

"The Chinese people have long declared that the affairs of the various countries throughout the world should be run by the peoples of the respective countries, and that the affairs of Asia should be run by the peoples of Asia and not by the United States. U.S. aggression in Asia will only arouse widespread and resolute resistance from the peoples of Asia. Only on January 5 this year Truman stated that the United States would not interfere in Taiwan. Now he has proved his own statement to be false, and has torn to shreds all the international agreements regarding non-interference by the United States in the internal affairs of China. The United States has thus openly exposed its own imperialist face and this is beneficial to the people of China and of all of Asia. There is no reason at all for U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam and other countries. The sympathy of the people throughout China, as well as of the broad masses of the people everywhere in the world, is on the side of the victims of aggression, and most decidedly not on the side of U.S. imperialism. The people will neither be bought by imperialism nor cowed by it. Imperialism is outwardly strong but inwardly feeble, because it has no support among the people. People throughout China and the world! Unite and prepare fully to defeat any provocation by U.S. imperialism."

On February 14, 1955, at a banquet given by the Soviet Embassy in Peking celebrating the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"With the co-operation between our two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, I am convinced that the aggressive plans of imperialism will be smashed.

"We can all see that with the great co-operation between China and the Soviet Union, there are no aggressive plans of imperialism which cannot be smashed. They will certainly be smashed thoroughly. Should the imperialists start a war of aggression, we, together with the people of the whole world, will certainly wipe them off the face of the earth."

On September 8, 1958, at the Supreme State Conference, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The present situation is favourable for the people the world over who are fighting for peace."

"The general trend is that the East wind prevails over the West wind."

"U.S. imperialism invaded China's territory of Taiwan and has occupied it for the past nine years. A short while ago it sent its armed forces to invade and occupy Lebanon. The United States has set up hundreds of military bases in many countries of the world. The Chinese territory Taiwan, Lebanon, and all U.S. military bases on foreign territory are like nooses tied round the necks of the U.S. imperialists. The Americans themselves, and nobody else, made these nooses, and they themselves put them round their own necks and handed the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in these places, the tighter will grow the nooses round their necks."

"The U.S. imperialists have been creating tension in

all parts of the world in attempts to achieve their aggressive ends and enslave the peoples of various countries. The U.S. imperialists calculate that they will always benefit from tense situations, but the fact is that the tense situations created by the United States have led to the opposite of what they wish. They serve, in effect, to mobilize the people of the world to oppose the U.S. aggressors."

"If the U.S. monopoly capitalist group is bent on carrying out its policy of aggression and war, the day will certainly come when the people of the whole world will hang it by the neck. A similar fate awaits the accomplices of the United States."

On September 29, 1958, Comrade Mao Tse-tung returned to Peking after a tour of inspection in several Yangtse valley provinces. In an interview with a correspondent of *Hsinhua News Agency* he said:

"Imperialism will not last long because it has been consistently doing all sorts of evil things. It makes a point of grooming and backing up anti-popular reactionaries in various countries. It forcibly seizes and occupies many colonies and semi-colonies and has set up many military bases. It threatens peace with atomic warfare. In this way, imperialism has forced more than 90 per cent of the people of the world to rise against it or prepare to fight it. Imperialism is still alive and kicking, still blustering its way in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The imperialists are still oppressing the people of their own countries in the West. But such a situation has to be changed. It is the task of the people of the world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, especially by U.S. imperialism."

PART II

STATEMENT OF PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON THE SITUATION IN THE TAIWAN STRAITS AREA

September 6, 1958

On September 4, 1958, United States Secretary of State Dulles, authorized by United States President Eisenhower, issued a statement openly threatening to extend United States aggression in the Taiwan Straits area against the People's Republic of China and carrying out war provocation, thereby aggravating the tension in this area created by the United States and seriously jeopardizing the peace of the Far East and the world. Regarding this, I have been authorized by the Government of the People's Republic of China to make the following statement.

(1) Taiwan and the Penghu Islands have been China's territories from ancient times. Following the Second World War, they were restored to China after being occupied by Japan for a period of time. It is entirely China's internal affair for the Chinese people to exercise their sovereign right to liberate these areas. This is the Chinese people's sacred and inviolable right. The United States Government itself also declared formally that it would not get involved in China's civil conflict in the Taiwan area. Were it not for the fact that the United States Government later went back on its own statement

and carried out armed intervention, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands would have long been liberated and placed under the jurisdiction of the Government of the People's Republic of China. These are undeniable facts unanimously recognized by fair-minded world public opinion.

(2) United States support of the Chiang Kai-shek clique entrenched on Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, which has long been repudiated by all the Chinese people, and its direct armed occupation of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands constitute unlawful interference in China's internal affairs and infringement on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and are in direct conflict with the United Nations Charter and all codes of international law. All so-called treaties concluded between the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique and all related resolutions adopted by the United States Congress are null and void as far as the Chinese people are concerned. They can never legalize United States aggression. Much less can they be used as pretexts by the United States for extending its aggression in the Taiwan Straits area.

(3) Supported by the United States, the Chiang Kai-shek clique has for long been using coastal islands such as Quemoy which is close by Amoy and Matsu which is close by Foochow as advance bases for conducting all sorts of harassing and disruptive activities against the Chinese mainland. Recently, since the United States launched armed intervention against the Arab states, the harassing and disruptive activities of the Chiang Kai-shek clique against the Chinese mainland have become more unbridled. The Chinese Government has every right to deal resolute blows and take necessary military action against Chiang Kai-shek's troops entrenched on

the coastal islands; any outside intervention would be a criminal infringement on China's sovereignty. But the United States, in order to divert the attention of the people of the world from continued United States aggression in the Middle East and procrastination in withdrawing its troops from Lebanon, attempts to take advantage of this situation and is amassing large numbers of armed forces in the Taiwan Straits area and openly threatening to extend its aggression in the Taiwan Straits area to Quemoy, Matsu, and other coastal islands. This is a grave war provocation against the 600 million Chinese people and a serious menace to the peace of the Far East and the world.

(4) The Chinese people's determination to liberate their own territory of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands is unshakable. In particular the Chinese people cannot tolerate the presence in their inland waters along the mainland of an immediate threat posed by such coastal islands as Quemoy and Matsu. No amount of U.S. war provocations can cow the Chinese people; on the contrary, they will only arouse even greater indignation among our 600 million people, and make them even more determined to fight U.S. aggressors to the very end. The fact that the United States, while not yet withdrawing its forces of aggression from Lebanon, has hastened to create a new danger of war in the Taiwan Straits area, has made the peace-loving countries and people of the world see even more clearly the brutish features of the United States aggressors bent on sabotaging peace and that the United States imperialists are the most vicious enemy of all national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the world peace movement.

(5) In pursuance of its foreign policy of peace, the Chinese Government has always stood for peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems in accordance with the Five Principles and for the settlement of all international disputes by the peaceful means of negotiation. Despite the fact that the United States has invaded and occupied China's territory of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands by armed force and crudely violated the minimum codes in international relations, the Chinese Government proposed to sit down to negotiate with the U.S. Government to seek relaxation and elimination of the tension in the Taiwan area. In the Sino-American ambassadorial talks which started in August 1955 the Chinese side time and again proposed that the two parties should, in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, issue a statement declaring their intention to settle the dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area through peaceful negotiation without resorting to the threat or use of force against each other. But, contrary to Dulles' assertion in his September 4 statement, it is precisely the United States that has refused to issue such a statement and, moreover, has later suspended unilaterally the talks themselves. After the Chinese Government demanded in July this year that the talks be resumed within a set time-limit, the U.S. Government did not make a timely reply, but it has ultimately designated a representative of ambassadorial rank. Now, the U.S. Government again indicates its desire to settle the Sino-American dispute in China's Taiwan area through peaceful negotiation. To make a further effort to safeguard

peace, the Chinese Government is prepared to resume the ambassadorial talks between the two countries. But the danger of war created by the United States in China's Taiwan area has not been reduced thereby. In view of the fact that the U.S. Government often acts differently from what it says and often uses peaceful negotiation as a smokescreen to cover up its actual deed of continuously expanding aggression, the entire Chinese people and the peace-loving people all over the world must not relax in the least their struggle against U.S. interference in China's internal affairs and against U.S. threat to the peace of the Far East and the world.

(6) The Sino-American dispute in the Taiwan Straits area and the Chinese people's internal matter of liberating their own territory are two matters entirely different in nature. The United States has all along tried to confuse these two matters so as to cover up its aggression and intervention in China. This is absolutely not to be allowed. The Chinese people have every right to liberate their own territory by all suitable means at a suitable time, and will not tolerate any foreign interference. Should the U.S. Government, brazenly disregarding the Chinese people's repeated warnings and the desire of the people of the world for peace, persist in its aggression and intervention against China and impose war on the Chinese people, it must bear the responsibility for all the serious consequences.

STATEMENT OF FOREIGN MINISTER CHEN YI OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA REFUTING DULLES' SPEECH AT THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

September 20, 1958

The Chinese people are profoundly enraged by the statement on the situation in the Taiwan Straits area made by U.S. Secretary of State Dulles at the United Nations General Assembly on September 18. The United States has invaded and occupied our territory Taiwan, and in addition has recently concentrated large numbers of armed forces to interfere with the recovery by the Chinese people of Quemoy, Matsu and other coastal islands, and has thus gravely threatened peace in the Far East and the world. In order to disguise these aggressive activities of the United States, Dulles has gone so far as to accuse our country of being an "aggressor" and to propose a so-called "cease-fire." This is indeed extremely preposterous. Actually, the current armed provocations and war threats directed against our country by the U.S. imperialists have met with strong opposition and condemnation from the peace-loving countries and people throughout the world. Dulles' statements which turn the facts upside down can deceive no one.

The Chinese people are determined to recover Quemoy and Matsu, and no force on earth can stop them. The

Chiang Kai-shek clique, repudiated by the Chinese people, has been using Quemoy and Matsu all along to carry out all sorts of harassing military activities against our mainland and coastal areas with the support of U.S. imperialism. In the last two months, these military activities have become even more unbridled. The facts show that so long as Quemoy and Matsu are not recovered, the immediate threat to our mainland and coastal areas will not be removed. The punitive military operations conducted by the Chinese people against Chiang Kai-shek's troops entrenched on Quemoy and Matsu are therefore entirely proper and necessary. But the U.S. imperialists have described as "aggression" this action of the Chinese people in exercising their sovereign right and used this as a pretext to intervene, in an attempt to bring Quemoy, Matsu and other islands in our inland waters under their direct armed control and turn them into springboards for further aggression against the Chinese mainland. The Chinese people have not forgotten the historical lesson that the Japanese militarists first invaded and occupied Taiwan and north-east China and converted them into springboards for aggression against the whole of China. They will never allow the U.S. imperialists to repeat the old tricks of the Japanese militarists.

The tension in the Taiwan Straits area is entirely the result of U.S. imperialist aggression against our country. The key to eliminating the tension in the Taiwan Straits area is not a so-called "cease-fire," but the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Taiwan area. There is no fighting between China and the United States, so the question of a so-called "cease-fire" does not arise at all. As to the armed conflict between the Chinese people and

the Chiang Kai-shek clique, it has never ceased since the Chinese People's War of Liberation and has never brought about any international tension. The liberation by the Chinese people of their territory, whether by peaceful means or by armed struggle, is the affair of the Chinese people themselves. The point at present is that the United States is playing with fire on the brink of war and is attempting to extend its aggression against China. The imminent danger at present in the situation in the Taiwan Straits area is that the United States, ignoring our repeated grave warnings and the strong protests of the people of the world, persists in its armed provocations and war threats against our people. To ease and eliminate the tension in the Taiwan Straits area, the United States must at once stop its armed provocations and war threats against China and withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. The tension in the Taiwan Straits area will continue as long as the U.S. armed forces are not withdrawn.

The Chinese Government has time and again indicated its willingness to settle the Sino-American disputes in the area of Taiwan and other areas in the Far East through peaceful negotiations without resorting to the threat or use of force. If the United States has any sincere desire to settle the disputes between the two countries peacefully, it should respect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and stop interfering with China's internal affairs. The liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people is China's internal affair — this was publicly acknowledged by the U.S. Government in 1950, and is an undeniable fact no matter how forgetful Dulles is. All sober-minded people in the world agree that Quemoy, Matsu and other coastal islands have always belonged

to China, only those who are obsessed with ideas of aggression, like Dulles, refuse to do so. Dulles described the Chinese people's liberation of their own territory as "armed conquest." Actually it is precisely the United States itself that has conquered China's territories by force. The United States has concentrated the largest amount of naval and air power in the Taiwan Straits area to engage in war provocations against our people. Yet Dulles parades as an advocate of the renunciation of the use of force and the elimination of provocations. If these statements of Dulles' are not designed to fool other people, the U.S. armed forces must be withdrawn from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. This is precisely the urgent question to be settled in the current Sino-American ambassadorial talks. The Chinese Government places hope in the Sino-American ambassadorial talks now in progress, but Dulles said he would bring the Sino-American disputes to the United Nations. It is well known, however, that the People's Republic of China has been unjustifiably deprived of its rightful place in the United Nations. Therefore, one cannot but doubt whether the United States is sincere about Sino-American negotiations.

The Chinese people ardently love peace, but they will never succumb to the war threat of the imperialists. No amount of war threats by the U.S. imperialists can cow the Chinese people. The mighty demonstrations against U.S. aggression held by 300 million Chinese people in the cities and the countryside testify to the Chinese people's firm will. Should the U.S. aggressors, despite the repeated warnings of the Chinese people and the firm opposition of the people of the world, dare to impose war on us, our 600 million people, united as one, will

certainly spare no sacrifice and will, under the sacred banner of defending our great motherland, fight against aggression, fight for the preservation of our sovereignty and territorial integrity, and fight for the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and the world! Ours is a just struggle. With the help of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and with the sympathy and support of all the peace-loving countries and people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, we will certainly win complete victory.

MESSAGE TO COMPATRIOTS IN TAIWAN FROM PENG TEH-HUAI, MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 6, 1958

Compatriots, military and civilian, in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu:

We are all Chinese. Of all choices, peace is the best. The fighting round Quemoy is of a punitive character. For quite a long time, your leaders have been far too wild. They have ordered aircraft to tear about over the mainland, dropping leaflets and secret agents, bombing Foochow and harassing Kiangsu and Chekiang, reaching as far as Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan, the Kangting area and Chinghai. If this can be tolerated what can't be tolerated? Hence the firing of a few shells, just to call your attention. Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu are Chinese territory. To this you agree, as proved by documents issued by your leaders, which confirm that they are decidedly not territory of the Americans. Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu are part of China, they do not constitute another country. There is only one China, not two, in the world. To this you also agree, as proved by documents issued by your leaders. The military agreement signed between your leaders and the Americans is unilateral; we do not recognize it. It should be abrogated.

The day will certainly come when the Americans will leave you in the lurch. Do you not believe it? The giant of history will come out to bear witness. The clue is already there in the statement made by Dulles on September 30. Placed in your circumstances, how can you help but feel dismayed? In the last analysis, the American imperialists are our common enemy. It is hard for the 130,000 troops and civilians in Quemoy to stand for long the lack of supplies and the pestering hunger and cold. Out of humanitarian considerations, I have ordered the shelling to be suspended on the Fukien front for the temporarily set period of seven days, starting from October 6. Within this period, you will be fully free to ship in supplies on condition that there be no American escort. Exception will be taken if there should be escort. It is not good that fighting between you and us should have been in progress for 30 years and have not yet ended. We propose that talks be held to effect a peaceful settlement. You were notified of this by Premier Chou En-lai several years ago. This is China's internal problem involving your side and our side; it is no issue between China and the United States. The issue between China and the United States is U.S. invasion and occupation of Taiwan, Penghu and the Taiwan Straits, and this should be settled through negotiations between the two countries, which are now being held in Warsaw. The Americans will have to pull out. It won't do if they don't. For the United States, the sooner they go the better, because in this way it can have the initiative. Otherwise, it will be to its disadvantage, because it will then be always on the defensive. Why should a country in the East Pacific have come to the West Pacific? The West Pacific belongs to the people in the West Pacific just as the East Pacific

belongs to the people in the East Pacific. This is common sense, the Americans should have understood. There is no war between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America, and so the question of cease-fire does not arise. Is it not a farce to talk about a cease-fire when there is no fire? Friends in Taiwan! There are flames of war between us, and they should be stopped and extinguished. For this, talks are needed. Of course, it would not matter so much even if the fighting should continue for another 30 years. It is, however, better to secure an early peaceful settlement. The choice is up to you.

PENG TEH-HUAI
Minister of National Defence
of the People's Republic of China

1 a.m., October 6, 1958

REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 7, 1958

Between 01:00 hour on October 6, when our armed forces stopped shelling Quemoy, and the early morning of the 7th, U.S. warships and aircraft continued to intrude into our country's territorial waters and the air space above them. This is impermissible. After 06:00 hours on October 7, however, no intrusions by U.S. warships and aircraft into the territorial waters and the air space above them in the Amoy area were evident for a whole day. As a reaction to the demand to the U.S. to cease its escorting, this is worthy of note. China is willing to settle the international disputes between China and the U.S. in the Taiwan area with the U.S. by peaceful negotiation. If the U.S. is not bent on interfering in China's internal affairs, and has the same desire to engage in peaceful negotiation, then it should first of all completely stop its so-called escort activities, stop intruding into China's territorial waters and air space and cease all its military provocations and war threats against China.

Starting from October 6, our armed forces suspended shelling Quemoy. As shown by the response from all sides, the military and civilian compatriots in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu have expressed their warm

support for this. Yet the Taiwan authorities said that they would rather risk shelling than have the United States withdraw its escort. The Taiwan authorities, because they are long obsessed by prejudice and leaned on the United States as their prop, have such ideas. This is understandable. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will esteem peace and patriotism. The shipping of supplies to Quemoy can be solved by themselves and should not be under American escort. The affairs of the Chinese people should be solved by the Chinese people themselves and should not be subject to intervention by the Americans. The Americans have their own intentions. At any rate problems among the Chinese people can be reasonably solved through negotiation.

REMARKS OF THE SPOKESMAN OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 9, 1958

The temporary suspension of the shelling of Quemoy by our forces, which is a humanitarian act, is warmly welcomed by the troops and civilians in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu and world public opinion. But U.S. Secretary of State Dulles and Under-Secretary of State Herter and others have shown great panic and arbitrarily tried to confuse this measure taken by our forces with the U.S. cease-fire plot. They have even demanded a so-called permanent cease-fire and employed resumption of the so-called escort operations as a threat. This has further exposed the imperialist face of the United States in persisting in interfering with China's internal affairs and deliberately creating tension.

Whether our troops do or do not stop their shelling of Quemoy and whether they stop it for a short or a long period, are purely internal affairs of our country in which the Americans have no right whatsoever to meddle. Even the Americans cannot but admit that there is no fighting between China and the United States, and of course the question of cease-fire does not arise at all. As for the question between the Chinese Government and the Taiwan local authorities, the Americans have no right to

speak on it for the Taiwan authorities. This is not only because the Taiwan authorities have not appointed the Americans to be their representatives, but even if they did so we would never recognize it. Any Chinese with national self-respect would certainly not have foreigners as their representatives in settling their domestic problems. In a word, the Chinese are fully capable of settling their own business by themselves, and U.S. interference will by no means be tolerated. The U.S. cease-fire plot can deceive no one.

Whatever the circumstances, the so-called escort operations by the United States are an open and flagrant intervention in China's internal affairs. Therefore, the point is not, as claimed by the U.S. Department of State, that "the necessity for U.S. escort operations suspends," but that the United States, from the very start, has no right to provide any escort. The attempt of the United States to coerce the Chinese people into accepting their cease-fire plot by threatening to resume escort operations, is a total miscalculation.

The reason why the United States has haggled about a cease-fire is that it attempts, under the cover of a cease-fire, to seize Taiwan and Penghu for ever and further to interpose in Quemoy and Matsu so as to realize its plot to create "two Chinas." Interference in China's internal affairs will not be tolerated. The United States not only has no right to meddle in Quemoy and Matsu, it also has absolutely no right to meddle in Taiwan and Penghu. There is only one China, and even the Taiwan authorities do not dare to support the United States plot to create "two Chinas." No patriotic Chinese will allow the United States to carve Taiwan out of China's territory.

The matter is becoming clearer and clearer. The tension in the Taiwan Straits is created entirely by the United States, single-handedly. Since June 27, 1950, the United States has held on to Taiwan by force. In order to extend its aggression against China from Taiwan and Penghu to Quemoy and Matsu, the United States has, in the past month and more, amassed unprecedentedly huge armed forces in the Taiwan Straits and has continuously conducted armed provocations and war threats against China, infringing China's territorial sea and air space more than 20 times in succession. These have not yet ceased up to now. In the last two days alone, the United States dispatched a "Nike-Hercules" guided missile unit to be stationed in Taiwan and has used resumption of the so-called escort operations as a threat.

It is best for the doer to undo what he has done. The key to eliminating the tension in the Taiwan Straits is for the United States to withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. The Americans should go back where they came from. The days are gone when the imperialists could bluster at their will. Have not the Americans had to agree to withdraw their armed forces from Lebanon? How can they perpetuate their stay in Taiwan and refuse to go?

If the Americans want to prove to the world that they have no intention to interfere in China's internal affairs or use war threats against China, then they should completely stop their so-called escort operations, stop intruding into the territorial sea and air space of the Chinese mainland and stop concentrating armed forces in the Taiwan Straits; and instead of haggling about a so-called cease-fire, their ambassador should sit down to negotiate seriously in Warsaw, consulting with our representative on concrete ways and steps to withdraw all U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. Otherwise, they will meet with even stronger condemnation by the people of the world, and put themselves in an even more helpless position.

ORDER OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 13, 1958

Comrades of the People's Liberation Army at the Fukien front:

Suspend the shelling of Quemoy for another two weeks starting from today, so as to see what the opposite side is going to do and to enable our compatriots on Quemoy, both military and civilian, to get sufficient supplies, including food and military equipment, to strengthen their entrenchment. Nothing is too deceitful in war. But this is no deceit. This is directed against the Americans. This is a noble national cause, and a clear-cut line must be drawn between the Chinese and the Americans. Taken as a whole, this action on our part does ourselves no harm, but benefits others. Whom does it benefit? It benefits the 10 million Chinese in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu; it benefits the 650 million people of our whole nation; it only hurts the Americans. Some Communists may not yet understand this for the time being. How comes such an idea? We don't understand! We don't understand! Comrades! You will understand after a while. The Americans in Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits must scramble home. They have no reason to hang on here; refusing to go will not do. Among the Chinese in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu, the majority are

patriots, only a few are traitors. Therefore, political work must be done to enable the great majority of the Chinese over there to wake up gradually, and to isolate the handful of traitors. The effect will be felt with the accumulation of hours and days of work. So long as the Kuomintang in Taiwan has not yet entered into peaceful negotiations with us and a reasonable solution has not been worked out, the civil war still continues. The spokesman of Taiwan said that stop-fight-stop-fight . . . is but a trick of the Communists. It is quite true that fighting has been going off and on. But this is no trick. If you are not willing to hold peace talks, fighting is unavoidable. So long as you take such a stubborn attitude as you are doing at present, we are free to fight when we want to fight and stop when we want to stop. The Americans want to thrust a hand in our civil war. They call it cease-fire. This cannot but make one laugh in one's sleeve. What right have the Americans got to raise this question? Whom do they represent? it may be asked. They represent none. Do they represent the Americans? There is no war between China and the United States, and hence no fire to cease. Do they represent the people in Taiwan? The Taiwan authorities have not given them any credentials. The Kuomintang leaders are completely opposed to the Sino-American talks. The American nation is a great nation, and American people are well-meaning. .They don't want war. They welcome peace. But among the U.S. government workers, there are some people, like Dulles and his ilk, who are indeed not so smart. Take, for instance, the talk about a cease-fire. Is this not lacking in common sense? To recover Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu as a whole and complete the unification of the motherland is the sacred task of our 650 million people. This is

China's internal affair, and no foreigner has any right to meddle in it. The United Nations has no right to meddle in it, either. The time is not far away when the aggressors and their running dogs in the world will all of them be buried. There can be no escape for them. It won't do even if they take to hiding in the moon. Where the enemy can go, we also can go, and drag them back anyway. In a word, victory belongs to the people of the world. The Americans must not conduct escort operations in the Quemoy water area. If there should be any escort, shelling shall start at once. This order is to be strictly observed.

PENG TEH-HUAI
Minister of National Defence

1 a.m., October 13, 1958

ORDER OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 20, 1958

Comrades of the People's Liberation Army at the Fukien front:

The order for our army to suspend the shelling of Quemoy is hereby annulled because the Taiwan authorities introduced American military escorts into the Quemoy water area from the night of the 19th to the morning of the 20th. Our army has twice suspended shelling, yet the Taiwan authorities have not shown any repentance. The Taiwan authorities have persisted in their obstinate attitude, refused to hold peace talks, stepped up war preparations and clamoured loudly for an attack to return to the mainland. Now, on the eve of the arrival in Taiwan of Dulles, whom they have invited to plan further implementation of the U.S.-Chiang "treaty," they introduced U.S. naval vessels to provide escort for as long as five hours. This is an open violation of the condition for our temporary suspension of shelling. If this can be tolerated, what can't be tolerated? Shelling must therefore be resumed as a punitive measure.

It is our noble national duty absolutely not to permit the Americans to meddle in Chinese affairs. Those who obstinately refuse to come to their senses are after all very few. It appears that some time will have to pass

before the Taiwan authorities wake up to the necessity of turning back from the wrong road and accept a peaceful settlement, and we continue to hold hope for such an eventuality. It will not do for the Americans to hang on in Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. It is absolutely impermissible for the Americans to interfere in China's internal affairs, and we absolutely will not accept any American machinations to utilize the Taiwan authorities to infringe on our national sovereignty. Patriotic military men and civilians in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu should wake up. Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu must return to the embrace of the motherland.

PENG TEH-HUAI
Minister of National Defence

3 p.m., October 20, 1958

SECOND MESSAGE TO COMPATRIOTS IN TAIWAN FROM PENG TEH-HUAI, MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 25, 1958

Compatriots, military and civilian, in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu:

We are fully aware that the overwhelming majority of you are patriots, and only extremely few are willing slaves of the Americans. Compatriots! Chinese problems can only be settled by us Chinese. If they are difficult to settle for the time being, things can be talked over at length. The American political broker Dulles likes to poke his nose into other people's business. He wants to thrust a hand in the matter of the long-standing dispute between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and order Chinese to do this or that, to harm the interests of the Chinese and suit the interests of the Americans. That is to say: step one, to isolate Taiwan; step two, to place Taiwan under trusteeship. If things do not turn out to their liking, they can resort to the most sinister measures. Do you know how General Chang Tso-lin met his death? There is a place called Huangkutun in northeast China, and it was there that he was done to death. No imperialist in the world has any conscience. And the U.S. imperialists are especially vicious, at least no better

than the Japanese who did Chang Tso-lin to death. Compatriots! I advise you to be a little more careful. I advise you not to depend too much on other people, lest all your rights and authority be taken away. To arrange things between our two Parties is very easy. I have already ordered our troops at the Fukien front not to shell the airfield in Quemoy and the wharf, beach and ships at Liaolo Bay on even days of the calendar, so that the compatriots, both military and civilian, on the big and small islands of Greater Quemoy, Lesser Quemoy, Tatan, Erhtan and others may all get sufficient supplies, including food, vegetables, edible oils, fuels and military equipment, to facilitate your entrenchment for a long time to come. If you are short of anything, just say so and we will give it to you. It is time now to turn from foe into friend. Your ships and aircraft should not come on odd days. We will not necessarily conduct shelling on odd days. But you should refrain from coming, to avoid possible losses. In this way, half of each month will be free for transportation, and supplies would not be lacking. Some of you suspect that we want to undermine the unity between your troops and civilians and between your officers and men. No, compatriots! We hope you will strengthen your unity, so as to act in unison in facing up to the foreigners. Fight-fight-stop-stop, half-fight, half-stop: this is no trick but a normal thing in the present specific circumstances. Our refraining from shelling the airfield, the wharf, the beach and the ships is still conditional on not introducing American escorts. Exception will be taken if there should be escorts. In the Chiang-Dulles talks, you have suffered a little loss. Now you have only the right of speaking for "Free China"; in addition, you are still permitted to represent a small part

of the overseas Chinese. The Americans have conferred upon you the title of a small China. On October 23, the U.S. Department of State published an interview Dulles had given to a correspondent of a British broadcasting company which was recorded in advance on October 16. The interview was made public as soon as Dulles took off from Taiwan. Dulles said that he saw a China of the Communists, that, since this country actually exists, he was willing to deal with it, and so on. Thank heaven, our country is seen by an American lord. This is a big China. Under the compelling force of circumstances, the Americans have changed their policy and treated you as a "de facto political unit," that is to say, in fact, not as a country. Such a "de facto political unit" is still needed by the Americans at the initial stage starting from the present time. That means isolating Taiwan. In the second stage, Taiwan is to be placed under trusteeship. Friends of the Kuomintang! Do you not yet sense this danger? Where is the way out? Please think it over. The document issued after the Chiang-Dulles talks this time was only a communique devoid of legal force. It is easy to shake yourselves free, depending on whether you have the determination or not. There is only one China, not two, in the world. On this we agree. All Chinese people, including you and compatriots abroad, absolutely will not allow the American plot forcibly to create two Chinas to come true. The present age is an age full of hope. All patriots have a future and should not be afraid of the imperialists. Of course, we are not advising you to break with the Americans right away. That would be an unrealistic idea. We only hope that you will not yield to American pressure, submit to their every whim and will, lose your sovereign rights, and so finally be deprived of a

shelter in the world and thrown into the sea. These words of ours are well-intentioned and bear no ill-will. You will come to understand them by and by.

PENG TEH-HUAI
Minister of National Defence

October 25, 1958

THE FORCES OF THE NEW ARE BOUND TO DEFEAT THE FORCES OF DECAY

by Yu Chao-li

Developments in the current international situation further confirm Comrade Mao Tse-tung's famous dictum: **"The East wind prevails over the West wind."** It is now abundantly clear that the forces of socialism are overwhelmingly superior to those of imperialism.

Imperialism is on its last legs. The First World War, which erupted as a result of the sharpened contradictions of world capitalism, showed that capitalism, after going through the process of birth and development, was headed down the road to decay and destruction. The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered mankind into the new era of transition from capitalism to socialism. In the last four decades, the new-born revolutionary socialist forces have made enormous progress; the anti-imperialist national revolutionary forces, as the ally of the world socialist revolution, have also made great advances. These two forces have joined hands in one fierce struggle after another against the moribund forces of imperialism. In the twenty years between the two world wars, imperialism for a time was able to suppress socialist revolutions and national revolutions in certain countries and thus give a temporary stability to the capitalist world. But it was not able to prevent the

Soviet people from building socialism on one-sixth of the earth, nor did it have the strength to prevent the growth of revolutionary movements among the peoples in other countries.

Imperialism was powerless to hold off grave economic and political crises. The Second World War erupted as the inner contradictions of imperialism grew more acute than ever. In the thirteen years since the end of the Second World War, imperialism has found itself in an even worse plight. It constantly finds itself in trouble as socialist revolutions and national revolutionary movements break out one after another in various parts of the world. Today the last bastions of imperialism are being shaken violently by the irresistible popular revolutionary forces. The 1,000 million people of the socialist camp now have at their side in the struggle against imperialism the more than 700 million people of the former colonial countries which have already won national independence. In addition, there are the 600 million people in the countries which are still fighting for independence or full independence and in capitalist countries which show neutralist tendencies. The imperialist countries have a combined population of only 400 millions, divided and at odds; everywhere beneath their feet are volcanoes of revolt ready to erupt at any moment.

In human history, the forces of the new always defeat the forces of decay. New, emergent forces, though seemingly weak, always prevail over the old, moribund forces which are still seemingly strong. What is decaying will inevitably be replaced by the new-born — such is the law of development in nature and in society. The militia commanded by George Washington were weak but eventually they defeated the well-armed British

colonial troops. The revolutionary forces led by Sun Yat-sen were weak but in the end they managed to overthrow the Manchu monarchy. It is common knowledge that the Faisal monarchy, propped up as it was by the foreign imperialists, seemed to be quite strong even on the very eve of the outbreak of the Iraqi revolution, while the revolutionary strength of the people seemed very weak. But overnight the forces of decay were defeated. The new-born forces of the Iraqi national revolution won a resounding victory. Here is another convincing proof that the forces of the new are bound to triumph over the forces of decay.

This explains why it is **the forces in decay who always fear the new and not the other way round. Communists, in particular, are never afraid of the imperialists; on the other hand, imperialists have always been afraid of communism.** Over a hundred years ago, when the whole world was still under capitalist domination, a few Communists like Marx and Engels, barehanded as they were, were already bold enough to proclaim: **"Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."**[1] Just after the victory of the October Revolution when the Soviet state was still an isolated island encircled by the capitalist world, Lenin already pointed out:

> . . . The advanced, most civilized and "democratic" countries, countries armed to the teeth and enjoying undivided military sway over the whole world, are

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[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Vol: I, p. 61.

mortally afraid of the *ideological* infection coming from a ruined, starving, backward, and even, as they assert, semi-savage country![1]

Under the slogan of "victory is certain," Lenin mobilized the forces of the Soviet people and defeated the armed intervention launched by the so-called first-class powers.

In our country, the two forces of imperialism and feudalism once loomed like mountains and lorded it over the people, but the vanguard of the Chinese working class, enlightened by Marxism-Leninism and guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, already saw the future clearly and was fully confident that the new-born forces of the people would be able to overthrow these towering obstacles. Immediately after it was founded, the Chinese Communist Party courageously raised the slogan of opposing imperialism and feudalism. The revolution suffered setbacks, but the Chinese Communists trusted firmly in the truth stated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung: **"A single spark can start a prairie fire."** Twelve years ago, the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique with its fully armed regular army of four million men launched a ferocious attack against the forces of the Chinese people which at that time were divided up among dozens of bases and had a poorly equipped Liberation Army of around a million men. But Comrade Mao Tse-tung predicted that the aggressor and dictator were digging their own graves; he pointed out that their attacks would only lead to an earlier victory of the Chinese revolution. This is how history treads the path

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 198.

of revolutionary dialectics. The old world will eventually be replaced by the new world.

In his talk with the American journalist Anna Louise Strong in 1946, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the famous statement that **"all reactionaries are paper tigers."** He said, **"The reactionaries look formidable, but actually their strength is not so great. Taking the long view, the really powerful strength lies not with the reactionaries, but with the people." "The U.S. reactionaries,"** he added, **"are also paper tigers. . . . The U.S. reactionaries, like all reactionaries in history, will be proved to have no strength at all."**

In the last twelve years, we have witnessed the victories of the socialist revolutions in the Eastern European People's Democracies, the victory of the people's revolutionary war and socialist revolution in China, the victory of the struggle for national independence in India, Burma and Indonesia, the victory of the war of resistance to U.S. aggression in Korea, the victory of the revolutionary war of the Vietnamese people against the U.S.-French imperialists, the victory of national independence movements in North Africa and West Asia, the victory in the war against the Anglo-French seizure of the Suez Canal in Egypt, the victory of national independence movements in Latin American countries, the victory gained in preserving national independence, opposing imperialist aggression and smashing the rebel forces in Indonesia, the victory of the Syrian people's struggle against imperialism and the recent victory of the peoples of the Near and Middle East in their fight against U.S.-British imperialist aggression and the struggle to preserve their national independence and freedom. All these are incontrovertible proof of the fact that the imperialists and

reactionaries in the various countries are truly paper tigers.

Today, that paper tiger — United States reaction — despite its holes and tatters, is still trying to give itself airs and talking big in an attempt both to cover up its own panic and scare certain waverers. The policy pursued by the U.S. reactionaries is a militaristic and aggressive one. They have established over 250 military bases in the vast intermediate areas around the socialist countries; they have wooed the reactionaries in more than twenty countries and patched together several military blocs, and constantly create tension and carry on war propaganda. But all this, far from showing their strength, is a sign of their weakness. Though the U.S. bourgeoisie has a history of less than two hundred years, it has long since forsaken the banner of independence and freedom raised by Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. Rotten to the core, it has no hope of recovery. At home it owes its rule over the people to McCarthyism and the Un-American Activities Committee. As to foreign policy, the U.S. imperialists have rallied all the reactionary forces of the capitalist world to their banner; they have become the centre of world reaction and made themselves the enemy of all the world's people, of world peace and the national independence movement. As a result, they are extremely isolated. They have on their side only a handful of reactionary elements while the peoples of the world and all peace-loving countries are against them. **In pursuing this reactionary policy they have produced their own grave-diggers, hell bent to ruin.**

The fate of Hitler and all such warlike elements awaits the U.S. imperialist aggressive bloc. Worse than that, Hitler was for a time fairly successful in his aggressive

adventures, for then the forces supporting peace and against aggression were relatively weak. Not so for U.S. imperialism today. In its armed aggression against Lebanon, the moment its troops landed on the Beirut seafront, it found itself in a quandary. The imperialist aggressors are condemned and opposed by the people everywhere; they have met with the valiant resistance of the peoples of the Arab countries who have the support of the socialist countries and all the other forces of peace throughout the world. The members of the imperialist aggressive bloc themselves are seriously at loggerheads; there are splits inside the ruling groups in the United States and Britain. The U.S. imperialists are isolated as never before. Confronted as they are by the powerful socialist camp and people in all lands who treasure peace and freedom, the imperialists are over-extended on too long a front; they lack the necessary strength and are vulnerable at many points. Now when it really comes to brandishing its arms, the imperialist aggressive bloc that once made such a continuous hullabaloo about a third world war, is shaking in its shoes and worrying about its future.

The hue and cry against the Soviet Union and communism raised by the U.S. imperialists is in fact a smokescreen under cover of which they are invading and enslaving the countries in the intermediate regions between the socialist camp and the U.S.A. The United States is separated from the socialist countries by whole oceans; almost the entire capitalist world lies between them. To start a war against the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism must first bring this capitalist world to its knees. In order to set up military bases in a country, the U.S. imperialists must first invade that country. They

want to build military bases everywhere, so they carry out aggression everywhere, so they are naturally everywhere encircled by the people.

It is common knowledge that U.S. imperialism, in dealing with the countries in the vast regions between the socialist camp and itself, resorts to both secret and open plots, to force and "peaceful means." But today when there exist a powerful socialist camp and the other forces of world peace, the aggressive war policies of the imperialists must inevitably suffer one setback after another. Many facts prove that today superiority rests with the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, not with the imperialist camp headed by the United States; with the Communist Parties and other progressive social forces in the various countries which truly represent the interests of the peoples of those countries, not with the reactionary ruling classes that oppose the will of the people; with the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world and not with the handful of warmongers. Today, it is the Arab people who have the upper hand, not the United States, Britain and France; Indonesia, not the United States and Holland; the Algerian forces of national liberation movement, not the French reactionaries who cling to their colonial rule; the Iraqi Republic, not the imperialist aggressive forces. **Imperialism is like the setting sun in the west; socialism and the national liberation movements which have its support are like the rising sun in the east. Not only is it difficult for the imperialists to subvert the nationalist countries which have already won independence, but they are utterly powerless to hold back the further progress of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.**

The imperialist aggressive bloc always attempts to use war to frighten the peoples of the world. The people do not want war but are opposed to it. As long as all the peace-loving forces of the world are united in an active struggle to defend peace, war can be prevented. However, as the communique on the recent talks between Comrades Mao Tse-tung and N. S. Khrushchov pointed out:

> . . . Whether war can be avoided does not rest with the good wishes and one-sided efforts of the peace-loving peoples alone. The aggressive bloc of the Western powers has up to now refused to take any serious steps to save peace, but on the contrary is aggravating international tension unscrupulously, thus bringing mankind to the brink of the catastrophe of war. It should know, however, that if the imperialist war maniacs should dare to impose war on the peoples of the world, all the countries and peoples who love peace and freedom will unite closely to wipe out clean the imperialist aggressors and so establish an eternal world peace.

This is a penetrating judgement concerning the development of the present world situation. As an old Chinese saying has it, "War is like fire; if you don't quench it, you'll get burnt yourself." Lenin once said that **there was no phenomenon that could not turn into its opposite, and an imperialist war can be turned into a revolutionary war. If the imperialists insist on war, the people will certainly study politics more closely in a war they are forced to fight and will quickly raise their level of political consciousness; they will never continue to tolerate a system that brings them such endless suf-**

ferings and sacrifices; they will rise in their anger and hurl the imperialist aggressive bloc into its grave.

The U.S. reactionaries try to use nuclear weapons to scare people. They brag about the horrors of atom and hydrogen bombs to bluff and deceive everywhere. But even when the atom bomb first made its appearance and was still the monopoly of the U.S. reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung described it scathingly as a "paper tiger." He said:

> **The atom bomb is a paper tiger with which the U.S. reactionaries try to terrify the people. It looks terrible, but in fact is not. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass destruction, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new weapons.**

Marxists have always maintained that in a war it is not the gun but the man behind it that counts. Whenever and wherever monarchies were overthrown or aggressors defeated, it was not because they did not have what were considered at the time to be the most dreadful weapons; on the contrary, so far as weapons were concerned they always enjoyed the advantage. To the people who fought barehanded in the past, swords, spears, bows and arrows were the ancient equivalents of "atom bombs." To the Chinese people's armed forces in the revolutionary bases who had "only millet plus rifles," the complete arsenal of weapons and equipment possessed by the imperialists and their lackeys could also be regarded as the "atom bombs" of that time. The reactionaries killed tens of thousands of the Chinese people, but finally the Chinese people disposed of all these "paper tigers." This shows that **the emergence of the atom bomb only marks the beginning of the end of U.S. imperialism. The reason is because it relies on nothing but bombs. But in the end the bomb will not destroy the people. The people will destroy the bomb, and the reactionaries who try to terrify the people with it.**

The U.S. policy of atomic blackmail has never daunted the revolutionary people. Furthermore, the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons has long been a thing of the past. In the socialist camp, the Soviet Union has long since been in possession of nuclear weapons, and in the field of some of the most important branches of military science and technology, such as intercontinental ballistic missiles, has left the United States far behind. The fact that "the East wind prevails over the West wind" is the basic condition for preventing the outbreak of an atomic war. The socialist camp is dedicated to peace and firmly believes that the world forces defending peace can prevent the outbreak of an atomic war. But we must keep a watchful eye on the atomic war maniacs. There is only one way to deal with madmen — to expose and fight them. Only when everybody is on the alert and gives them no chance to run amok can such madmen be held down when they are seized with the fit to take some mad action. The warlike elements must be warned that once they start an atomic war, the only result will be the destruction of imperialism which has brought untold suffering to mankind. Socialism, far from being destroyed, will be realized all the more quickly throughout the world.

The U.S. reactionaries have indulged in sabre-rattling in every part of the world, thinking that the United States, with its annual output of over 100 million tons of steel, still for the time being ranks first in the world

in the output of steel and a number of other important industrial products. But this should scare no one either. Steel is important but man is much more important. Even in steel the United States does not enjoy an absolute superiority. Not until the early part of the 20th century did the United States complete its industrialization and become capable of producing 20 to 30 million tons of steel a year. That was 130 to 140 years after it gained independence and 40 to 50 years after its Civil War. Another 40 years passed before it increased its annual steel output to over 100 million tons. This increase was made mainly as a result of the two world wars. Relying mainly on war instead of on a dependable domestic market, the increase of steel output in the United States is actually built on sand. The decaying U.S. capitalist system is not going to be saved at all by 100 million tons of steel; still less is it able to escape from its fatal economic crises. The current economic crisis in the United States actually started with the steel industry and the industrial branches directly associated with it. Steel output in the United States in the first quarter of this year went down by 40 per cent compared with the same period of last year. During the 1929-1933 crisis, the memory of which is still fresh, steel output in the United States fell sharply from 57 million tons to 13.9 million tons. For the U.S. monopoly capitalists, the higher they climb, the heavier they'll fall. There is no elixir of life known that can cure the fatal disease of economic crisis with which the United States is afflicted.

It is, after all, man and the superiority of a social system which play the decisive part in history. During the anti-fascist war, the annual steel output of the Soviet Union amounted to only 18 million tons. Besides, the country suffered heavy war damage. The steel output of the United States and Britain then added up to more than 70 million tons. But it was the Soviet Union rather than the United States and Britain which played the decisive role in winning the war against Hitler. In the race of the artificial earth satellites which represent the pinnacle of the world's scientific achievement, it is the Soviet Union, whose annual steel output is 50 million tons, rather than the United States with its annual steel output of over 100 million tons, which has won first prize. As to the rate of increase of steel output, the socialist Soviet Union is more than a match for the United States. During the 12 years since the Second World War the steel output of the Soviet Union soared from approximately 10 million tons a year to more than 50 million tons. At this rate it will very quickly catch up with and surpass the United States. Apart from the Soviet Union, the steel output and other branches of industrial and agricultural production in the many other socialist countries too are expanding swiftly. The constant leaps in production in the socialist world stand in sharp contrast with the economic crisis of the capitalist world headed by the United States. As is well known, the swift rate of expansion of the iron and steel industry in China will also surpass people's expectations. In the eyes of the Chinese people, the United States with its 100 million tons of steel a year is no better than Yuan Shu and his like described by Tsao Tsao in his "discussion on contemporary heroes."[1] Although it still has "large numbers of soldiers and ample supplies" at its disposal, just as

[1] An episode from the well-known classical novel, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms.*

Yuan Shu had in his time, U.S. imperialism already has one foot in the grave and can with as much justice be described as "a rotting bone in a graveyard."

The imperialists and the reactionaries in various countries always stir up anti-Soviet and anti-communist disturbances, the better to suppress their own peoples and the revolutionary movements in their own countries. **But this can only scare the weak-kneed. The revolutionary people, on their part, will be tempered in these tempests and emerge stronger than ever. All revolutionary forces are born and grow on the strength of two factors. On the one hand, they need positive revolutionary education. On the other, counter-revolutionaries can serve as their teachers by negative example. The more reactionary their enemies become, the greater revolutionary fervour the people will acquire and the faster their enemies will go to their doom.** Indomitable Communists and all revolutionaries grow to maturity amid stress and storms, which provide them with the opportunity of getting to know the laws of waging the struggle against the reactionaries. At times temporary losses may occur owing to lack of experience in fighting the imperialists and the reactionaries, but losses help you to learn. As the Chinese saying goes, "A fall in the pit, a gain in wit." And that is why bad things can be turned to good account.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at the time of the victory of the Chinese people's revolution in 1949 that the logic of the imperialists was different from the logic of the people in the following way. **Disrupt, fail, disrupt again, fail again, till their doom — that is the logic that guides the imperialists and all reactionaries in the world. Under no circumstances will they run counter to this logic. This is a Marxist law. On the other hand, struggle, fail, struggle again, fail again, struggle again, till their victory — that is the logic of the people. They too will not run counter to this logic. This is another Marxist law.** Both the Russian people's revolution and the Chinese people's revolution bear this out. Some decades ago, there existed in Russia and China only a few Marxist groups formed by a few dozen people. They weathered temporary failures and waged fresh struggles; finally they defeated all the outwardly strong reactionaries and became the parties in power in these two great countries. This is revolutionary dialectics. The world situation today is one in which "the strong winds foretell the coming storm."[1] None of the imperialist reactionaries who still seem outwardly strong can avoid their doom ordained by history. The Communist Parties in these countries which still appear to be weak are the truly mighty forces to be reckoned with; they will grow and gain in strength in the course of their struggles and will eventually triumph.

Ten years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: **"It would be a very big mistake to underestimate the significance of the victory of the Second World War."** He also said: **"It would be a very big mistake to overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate that of revolution."** This equally applies to the appraisal of forces at this new historical turning-point today. The situation in which the East wind prevails over the West wind has opened the way for the final victory of the struggles of the peoples the world over. It is very clear

[1] A line from a poem by Hsu Hun of Tang dynasty.

that no force can turn back the fast-moving wheel of history. **The new-born forces will certainly defeat the forces of decay. The speed of advance of the world forces of peace, democracy and socialism will certainly surpass the people's expectations.**

(*Hongqi*, No. 6, August 16, 1958)

THE U.S. AGGRESSORS HAVE PUT NOOSES ROUND THEIR OWN NECKS

Editorial of *Hongqi*, No. 8, September 16, 1958

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out at the session of the Supreme State Conference on September 8, 1958: **"The Chinese territory Taiwan, Lebanon, and all U.S. military bases on foreign territory are like nooses tied round the necks of the U.S. imperialists. The Americans themselves, and nobody else, made these nooses, and they themselves put them round their own necks and handed the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in these places, the tighter will grow the nooses round their necks."** These words vividly describe the U.S. policy of aggression all over the world and the fate that awaits it.

The U.S. aggressors are extending their aggression everywhere, antagonizing the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world. This inevitably stirs up indignation and opposition among the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world. The U.S. aggressors poke their snake heads all over the world. This, of course, is a bad thing. But, the consequence of this will be the extension and sharpening of the contradictions between the U.S.

aggressors and the peoples of the world, helping the latter to recognize the true face of American imperialism, and hastening the growth of their revolutionary consciousness. In other words, the U.S. aggressors become "teachers by negative example" to the people everywhere, and will eventually be encircled by the people everywhere, sink deeper and deeper in this encirclement, unable to extricate themselves. Thus, a bad thing is turned to good account. Every act of aggression will take the aggressors a step nearer their own graves. This is the dialectics of historical development.

Inadequate strength has long been the fatal weakness of the United States. By committing aggression everywhere, every place becomes a U.S. front; every place becomes far removed from its rear; every place exposes it to attacks front and rear; and everywhere it is out on a limb to be trounced and beaten. U.S. military bases throughout the world are increasing at an unprecedented rate, but at the same time the United States has never been so isolated in the world as it is today. Doesn't this add up to a picture of the U.S. aggressors putting nooses round their own necks? The recklessness of the U.S. aggressors will only result in their doom. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it: **"If the U.S. monopoly capitalist group is bent on carrying out its policy of aggression and war, the day will certainly come when the people of the whole world will hang it by the neck."**

The new war provocations of U.S. imperialism against the 650 million people of China have not only aroused the deepest wrath among all the Chinese people, but have also encountered sharp condemnation from all the peace-loving countries and peoples the world over. All the countries of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union

have expressed their determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese people against the common enemy. Many Asian, African and Latin American countries and all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world support our righteous struggle. The U.S. aggressors, however, stand even more isolated than when they carried out armed aggression in the Middle East. Only Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, the scum of reaction, are with them. Many allies of the United States are also saying that the aggressive acts by the United States cannot be justified in any way, and few are willing to be its accomplices. Public opinion in the United States, including statements by some representatives of the ruling circles, among them, for example, Acheson and Hurley, who pursued a policy of hostility to the Chinese people when they held official positions, also criticize the "brink of war" policy of the U.S. government as "dazed," "madness" and "suicide." It is worth noting that this situation has been created by none other than the Americans themselves. The Chinese people never sent out any invitations to the Americans; this situation is entirely the result of their crossing of the ocean, dispatching troops and extending their provocations. All this shows that the nooses were made by the Americans themselves, and none other than the Americans themselves have put them round their own necks.

Every time a tense situation is created by the U.S. aggressors, who have made the nooses and put them round their own necks, the result is that the awareness and enthusiasm of the people of the world is mobilized ever more intensely and this makes the people of various countries who are holding the ends of the nooses tighten the ropes day by day. In the midst of the tension being con-

stantly created by the U.S. aggressors, the people of the whole world, including those who formerly did not have a clear understanding of the situation, will come to see clearly that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of world peace. Everyone will make his stand increasingly clear on the question of peace or war. In this way, the forces in defence of peace are bound to expand throughout the world and all peace-loving people will become enlightened and united in waging a resolute struggle against the U.S. imperialists, so as to eliminate international tension. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: **"The U.S. imperialists calculate that they will always benefit from tense situations, but the fact is that the tense situations created by the United States have led to the opposite of what the Americans wished. They served, in effect, to mobilize the people of the world to oppose the U.S. aggressors."**

Dulles, the architect of U.S. "brinkmanship," can rightly be called a classic representative of the ideology of U.S. monopoly capital, which is rotten to the core. The characteristics of his class have endowed him with a simple mind. Apart from knowing how to brandish a big stick, he only knows how to jabber but not how to open his eyes to see the facts. He is blind to the most obvious changes that have taken place in the world. He has made the noose but cannot see it. He has got his neck into a noose but is unaware of it and keeps shaking a big stick and jabbering away as is his wont. Dulles can truly be called the best "teacher by negative example" to the Chinese people and the people of the world. The policy of hostility to the Chinese people and the people of the world which he has insisted on has constantly aroused in them a swelling tide of anger against the United States

and an ever greater will to rise energetically and become strong themselves. On this count alone, it can be said that Dulles has done something useful indirectly for the Chinese revolution and the revolution of other countries of the world. He ought to be given a medal.

Some bourgeois American political commentators have described the policies adopted by Dulles and the U.S. government of non-recognition of China, of unlawfully depriving China of its rightful place in the United Nations and of blockade and embargo against China as three bankrupt policies and three dirty rags patched together to make up a flag. The American aggressors thought that these policies could strangle newly-born People's China. But the course of history has proved just the opposite. The U.S. policy of hostility towards the Chinese people has failed to prevent the gigantic advances of New China. On the contrary, it has proved advantageous to China's economic construction which is based on its own resources. Since the Chinese people became the masters of their nation's destiny, they have been capable of mastering nature and wresting everything from it. China's gross yield of wheat this year, for example, surpasses that of the United States and takes second place in the world. At the same time, the U.S. blockade and embargo have strengthened the close economic co-operation between China and the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, bringing about a common economic upsurge in all the socialist countries. As for recognition, it is common knowledge that the new revolutionary forces of the Chinese people have never been recognized by the enemy, that they have always been deprived of their rightful place and have always grown and won their victo-

ries in the teeth of enemy oppression, sieges and blockades. Our cause is enjoying, and will continue to enjoy, ever increasing prosperity. No force on earth can halt the rapid advance of New China. Mighty, socialist New China stands firmly on the face of the globe and is creating incredible wonders every day, every hour. Its prestige will not be damaged in the least by non-recognition on the part of any country or any person. On the contrary, those who do not recognize New China and fail to see its great stature are merely pitiful creatures to be cast aside soon into the garbage heap of history.

But let us have a look at the countries which have been recognized and aided by the United States, which have thrown themselves into the embrace of the United States and live on U.S. dollars. How are they getting along? Can any one of them compare with China in progress?

From the experience gained in protracted, sanguinary struggles, the Chinese people have long completely seen through the aggressive designs of the American imperialist wolves. The history of modern Sino-American relations is a record of American imperialist dreaming to dominate China. The recent attempts of U.S. imperialism to extend its aggression to islands in China's inland waters such as Quemoy and Matsu are but a continuation and development of its stubborn hostility to the Chinese people. By carrying out aggression, the American imperialists owe the Chinese people a huge debt which as yet remains unpaid; and now a new entry has to be added to the account. It is certainly clear to the American capitalists that debts have to be paid or else the interest mounts, the longer the debt, the greater the interest. The Chinese

people love peace ardently; but they have absolutely no fear of war if the American aggressors are bent on imposing a war on them. If the American aggressors are determined to start a world war, then, as we have reiterated for many years, the result of the war will undoubtedly and inevitably be the doom of the entire imperialist system. It will inevitably result in great victory for the cause of lasting world peace and the progress of mankind.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at the Supreme State Conference that **the present situation is favourable for the people the world over who are fighting for peace and that the general trend is that the East wind prevails over the West wind.** On our side is the unequalled, great and mighty socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the anti-imperialist forces of the national independence movements and all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world; on the side of the aggressors, there is nothing but a handful of warmongers who are as alone as the last man on earth. Ours is a just cause which has the sympathy and support of the people throughout the world; but theirs is a cause without honour which cannot gain any popular support. We are solidly united; but they are falling apart. U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger in the full sense of the term. The new war provocations of the American aggressors against our country are no indication of strength, but merely a manifestation of the extreme weakness of the imperialist world. But up to now there are still some people who have failed to understand this really. They often overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate that of the people. They often see only the seeming strength of the imperialist reactionaries

and their partial, temporary, mad suppression of the forces of the people, but fail to see the weakness that is inherent in the imperialist reactionaries, the awakening and growing unity of the oppressed people and the historical inevitability that these people will ultimately overthrow all the oppressors and win final victory. They often only see the fact that some ice-bound rivers are not yet thawing as a whole, but fail to see the torrential streams underneath which will soon break up the ice completely and rise in mighty waves. They often see only the fact that the revolutionary movements in some places are advancing for the time being at a relatively slow pace and is temporarily in a stage when, as Marx said, twenty years are no more than a day in a period of gigantic historical developments; but fail to see the fact that the new-born revolutionary forces will eventually defeat the decrepit reactionary forces and that the great historical period will eventually come when twenty years are concentrated in a day. In fact, if one views modern history as a whole, it is not difficult to see that the recent decades, particularly the recent dozen years, are a period full of revolutionary events and revolutionary victories. Vast tracts of land which the imperialists thought were their firm foundations have suddenly given way. The continuation of this process cannot be obstructed by anyone, least of all by the imperialists, because objectively their policy is constantly accelerating this process. **History assigns a tragic role to all the imperialist reactionaries: they are destined to work hard to create their own grave-diggers. The more ferocious they are, the stronger will be the determination of the people to carry on revolutions. The more extensive their aggression is, the more nooses they will**

draw round their necks. The more frenzied their provocations are, the tighter will become the loops which are in the hands of the people. If the U.S. aggressors persist in their policy of making nooses for their own necks, the day will be hastened when the people throughout the world will sentence them to the gallows!

THE U.S. AGGRESSORS ARE OUR TEACHERS BY NEGATIVE EXAMPLE

Commentary of *Hongqi*, No. 10, October 16, 1958

American robbers are prowling in the courtyard of the Chinese people. This makes it imperative for every Chinese to be more awake, to go all out in work, and, with supreme energy, augment our country's power to deal with this enemy effectively.

The U.S. aggressors bully us. But they serve as our teachers by negative example in various aspects:

1. The U.S. aggressors bully us because we still have too little iron and steel. This calls for even greater efforts on our part to develop the iron and steel industry at the fastest possible rate.

2. The U.S. aggressors bully us because we still have too little machinery. This necessitates even greater efforts on our part to develop the machine-building industry at the fastest possible rate.

3. The U.S. aggressors have always sneered at our poverty. In reply, the people of our country have shot up the output of grain crops this year to double last year's. Still greater efforts on our part are necessary to increase food output at the fastest possible rate.

4. The U.S. aggressors, looking at us the same way they looked at old China, view the Chinese as a heap of loose sand and an easy mark. This makes it imperative for the people of our country to become better organized. Indeed, they have developed the nation-wide movement for people's communes on the basis of socialist transformation as a further step to get our six hundred million people united as one.

5. The U.S. aggressors bully us. This requires energetic efforts on our part to strengthen our national defence. We should not only have a powerful regular army, but also organize militia divisions on a vast scale to arm the entire nation.

6. The U.S. aggressors bully us. This necessitates even greater efforts on our part to quickly attain the world's highest peaks in the most advanced science and technology.

7. The U.S. aggressors insist on a policy of blockade and embargo against our country. This helps our country build with greater and faster results.

8. In the international field the United States sticks to its policy of hostility towards our country. This serves as a constant reminder to our people and enables us to draw a clear-cut line between the enemy and ourselves. We have friends all over the world; but the U.S. imperialists, in contrast, have isolated themselves.

The U.S. aggressors — teachers by negative example — have taught us these lessons and many others.

The Chinese people, from the vital experience they have gained in the course of protracted struggles, have a profound understanding of the role played by negative teachers. The people have to educate themselves constantly with socialist and communist ideas and by summing up their experiences in struggle. At the same time, the enemy uses various means to deal with the people and these constitute important textbooks which provide

negative examples to raise the political consciousness of the mass of the people.

Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists were all the best teachers by negative example for the people of the world and for the Chinese people. Their fiendish, aggressive acts mobilized the people throughout the world and resulted in the victory over German and Italian fascism in the war in Europe and in the victory of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression in the East. The total result was the victory of the socialist revolution and the national revolution in many countries both in the East and the West.

Chiang Kai-shek has played the role of a teacher by negative example for the Chinese people. His counter-revolutionary activities educated the people throughout the country, roused the just indignation of the Chinese people and in this way hastened the victory of the great revolution of the Chinese people. Now, in Taiwan, he continues to play the role of a teacher by negative example for the Chinese people.

The Tito group also deserves to be called a very good teacher by negative example. With its typical revisionism, it educates the whole world, including the Chinese Communists, and enables the people to understand clearly what is genuine socialism and what is pseudo-socialism; what is genuine Marxism and what is pseudo-Marxism.

The U.S. imperialists have inherited the legacy of all the reactionaries in history and have become Negative Teacher No. 1 for the people throughout the world and for the Chinese people. They have cultivated, aided and directed all the reactionaries of the world, big and small, and become the headmaster of all the teachers by negative example in the world. U.S. imperialism has used

its policy of aggression and war as a reactionary textbook to educate the people all over the world. In this way, the U.S. aggressors have fused the struggles against American imperialism in various parts of the world into a common struggle. In this way, the U.S. aggressors have brought into being a corps of its own grave-diggers which is growing stronger day by day.

EISENHOWER HOISTS THE PIRATE'S SKULL AND CROSS-BONES

Renmin Ribao Editorial, July 21, 1958

Eisenhower made a speech to the American people on July 15. Its main arguments were later repeated by MacMillan and Lloyd. The speech can be interpreted as the programme of the U.S. and British aggressors for armed intervention in the Middle East. All peoples throughout the world who cherish peace and liberty should know this programme.

With the logic of a brigand, Eisenhower uses a line of reasoning in his speech attempting to prove that aggressors could at will destroy the national independence of all countries and deprive the people of all countries of the right to exercise sovereignty. According to this logic, the U.S. armed forces could commit aggression against any country and, for that matter, seize the whole world. It is a programme that menaces world peace, a programme of mobilization for war.

Eisenhower says that the armed forces of the U.S. invaded Lebanon for "the welfare of the United States," "to protect American lives," because "there are about 2,500 Americans in Lebanon." But this obviously cannot be a basis for dispatching troops abroad. All countries in the world have their own "welfare." Most countries have nationals abroad. According to Eisenhower, any country

can send troops to any other country. This is apart from the fact that in Lebanon there does not exist any threat to American nationals at all. It may be recalled that when Hitler committed military intervention in Spain in July 1936, it was "to protect German lives and property," exactly like Eisenhower's so-called "protection of American lives." When Japan invaded China in 1931, 1932, and 1937, it also used the same pretext. If such brigand logic is not demolished, today the United States can send troops to Lebanon on account of its 2,500 nationals, tomorrow it can send troops to another country because of some other thousands or hundreds of nationals. How then can the world have peace?

Eisenhower also says that the U.S. armed forces invaded Lebanon "to assist the government of Lebanon to preserve its territorial integrity and political independence." The United States and Chamoun's traitorous government of Lebanon, he says, were "entitled . . . to join in measures of collective security for self-defence," and such action is an "inherent right" recognized by the U.N. Charter. Such sophistry is as disgusting as that of the brigand who excuses his killing and plundering by claiming to protect the lives and property of his victims! Lebanon enjoyed territorial integrity until the U.S. forces invaded it. Lebanon was politically independent, in form at any rate. The Lebanese people were struggling against the Chamoun government in order to change this formal independence into real independence. But the invasion of the U.S. forces has destroyed completely even that formal independence. Eisenhower simply reduces his argument to tatters by invoking the United Nations Charter. Article 51 of the U.N. Charter provides:

> Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

Does this give Eisenhower and Chamoun any right to intervention by the U.S. in Lebanon? Not the slightest! There was no question at all of armed attack in Lebanon. What was going on there was purely an internal matter. This is borne out by the testimony even of the report of the U.N. Observers Group and the statement of U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjold, and both were sent there to look for grounds for intervention in Lebanon. What is more, the United States forces were dispatched *not before* but *after* the Security Council had "taken measures necessary." If the U.S. aggressors can fool around in this way with the U.N. Charter and the Security Council without meeting any opposition, what will prevent the United States from landing its armed forces in future in any country with a traitorous government in power?

One of the most threadbare of the pretexts used by the U.S. imperialists in their wanton aggression against Lebanon was to describe the Lebanese people's armed struggle against the Chamoun clique and the Iraqi people's revolution in overthrowing Faisal's feudal monarchy as "aggression" or "indirect aggression." Eisenhower defines so-called "indirect aggression" as "under the cover of a fomented civil strife, the purpose is to put into domestic control those whose real loyalty is to the aggressor." To further clarify his point, he cites the revolutionary struggles of the Greek, Czechoslovak, Chinese,

Korean and Vietnamese peoples since World War II as examples of his so-called "indirect aggression."

By this logic, the present issue in the Middle East is that the Lebanese people have committed aggression against Lebanon and the Iraqi people have committed aggression against Iraq, just as in the past the Greek people committed aggression against Greece, the Czechoslovak people against Czechoslovakia, the Chinese people against China, the Korean people against Korea and the Vietnamese people against Vietnam!

This is truly the complete outlook of a pirate. Such brigand logic did not occur even to Hitler and Tojo!

Eisenhower mentions that many Americans laid down their lives for their country's independence. This is true. But in mentioning it, he has indeed insulted the forefathers of the American people. It is publicly known that the people in the British colony in North America rose in revolt against British tyranny in the 18th century and for six hard years (1775-1781) waged their War of Independence. They succeeded in defeating their British overlords and at the same time crushed the "loyalists" within the colony who supported the British throne. What was born out of this struggle was the United States of America as it is today. But if we go by the logic of Eisenhower's address, the only conclusion is that the American people at that time committed aggression against Britain and, at the same time, against the United States itself!

The American Declaration of Independence of 1776 says:

> . . . That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable

rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. . . .

Let us ask Eisenhower and all those who take part in or approve of the U.S.-British aggression: Can it be that the Declaration of Independence is communist propaganda? Can it be that the draft of this Declaration was "actively fomented by Soviet and Cairo broadcasts"? Are not the people of the Middle East today demanding exactly what is in the Declaration of Independence? If the people of the United States have the inalienable right to form a new government, why should the peoples of Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq be denied of the same right? What is more, compared with the British and pro-British rulers of America at that time, the pro-Western rulers of Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq are infinitely more unpopular.

The New York Herald-Tribune admitted on July 8: "The majority of the Lebanese people openly or passively sympathize with the rebels." Even Eisenhower himself has to say in his address that Chamoun has made it clear that he would not stand for re-election since he is so notorious in Lebanon. And Hussein of Jordan is not a whit more popular. On the contrary, the new government of Iraq enjoys jubilant support of the people — a

fact which all Western correspondents in Bagdad cannot refuse to admit.

By what reason, then, do the U.S. aggressors forcibly forbid the people of these small countries to do what America's forefathers did two hundred years earlier and, to make matters worse, slander the people of these small countries for committing "aggression"?

By no other reason than that they are pirates who want to carry out their wanton aggression. Whoever oppose their aggression, they would call them "aggressors," or "indirect aggressors."

It is worth taking this particular comparison further. The American War of Independence relied a great deal on foreign military assistance. The Americans then fighting for their independence sought aid from Canada, Ireland and France and actually obtained substantial military assistance from France, the Netherlands and Spain. Ninety per cent of the arms they used in the first two and a half years of the War of Independence came from Europe and, in particular, France. The French and other peoples of Europe organized and sent volunteers to America to help fight in the war. On the other hand, today both the Lebanese people in their struggle and the Iraqi people in their victory depend almost exclusively on their own efforts. We may well ask: Why are they not entitled to the same international assistance that the American War of Independence received? Does anyone dare say that the French who went to the aid of the Americans were aggressors or that the Americans who sought this help were "those whose real loyalty is to the aggressor"?

History has handed down its indisputable verdict: the British die-hards who wanted to maintain colonial rule

and the American die-hards who clung to their allegiance to the British crown were reactionaries and those who overthrew these reactionaries were revolutionary fighters of immortal renown. Eisenhower, Dulles and their like — disgraceful successors, despicable betrayers, of Washington, Jefferson and Franklin — are now trying to revert this verdict of history and by force of violence to protect the handful of imperialist protégés among the Arab people today, while trampling upon and slinging mud at the millions of nationalist fighters for freedom and independence in the Middle East. But they can never succeed in reversing the course of history. They will be simply ground to dust in the wheels of history and only their disgrace will remain for ever as a notorious memory.

It is clear that the American rulers today trample on the principles proclaimed by their forefathers at the time of their bourgeois revolution. The U.S.-British imperialists, furthermore, have scrapped the principles proclaimed by their governments during World War II. In August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill signed the famous Atlantic Charter which stated that the two countries "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." Now, why don't they respect the right of the people of the Middle East to choose the form of their own government?

The U.N. Charter stipulates that the aim of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security, that member nations should settle their international disputes through peaceful means, and that they should not resort to intimidation and force in their international relations. What right have the U.S.-British

aggressors to tear these basic principles of the United Nations to pieces? Yet according to Eisenhower's brigand logic, to tear these principles to pieces is because he wants to give "fuller dedication to the basic principles of the U.N. Charter!"

In recalling the world history between 1945 and 1950, Eisenhower is full of hatred for the peoples of different countries. He describes the revolutions which then occurred in many countries as "conquests" or "aggressions." We have already refuted such nonsense. What is worth noting here is not Eisenhower's mad hatred for the struggles for liberation of the people of many countries but his complete ignorance, like an idiot, of such inevitable development. He says that if the United States does not intervene by the force of arms, "the result would be to open the flood gates to direct and indirect aggression throughout the world." At least, Eisenhower has committed two mistakes: First, the United States has intervened in almost all the liberation struggles of the people of different countries, and its intervention was particularly desperate in China and Korea. It did not begin with Lebanon. Secondly, in future the armed forces of the United States will never become a gate to check the flood of the people's liberation struggles just as it has never succeeded in the past.

The days of piracy are gone. No gunboats, aircraft or atomic units, whatever their number, can save the aggressors from extinction. Eisenhower and his like are completely ignorant of the present age. History, for them, is full of unexpected events which they cannot understand. The advance of the socialist revolutionary movement and the advance of the national independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the

basic ingredients of our age. They are the inevitable outcome of capitalism's transition to the stage of imperialism and the logical development of the victory of the world war against fascism. Mankind has not shed oceans of blood in defeating the German-Italian-Japanese aggressors simply to remain the slaves of imperialism and colonialism, to allow the U.S. aggressors to take the place of the German, Italian and Japanese aggressors or, for that matter, of the British and French aggressors, and to rule the world as overlords.

The peoples of the world want peace and progress. All the oppressed nations in the world want independence and freedom. In the context of this development, the liberation of the people of the Middle East is inevitable. This is acknowledged even by many leading, sober-minded capitalists in the United States and Britain. The course of history cannot be reversed despite the employment of force by the United States and Britain in the Middle East or their flinging filthy charges at the people of the Middle East, accusing them of being "aggressors," or "indirect aggressors," stirred up by the Soviet Union and the United Arab Republic, or "loyal to the aggressor." Contrary to the expectations of the present-day pirates, the more ferocious they become, the greater the consciousness and unity they help to foster among the people. As the course of history has repeatedly demonstrated, should they impose war on the people of all nations, they will only hasten their own extinction and the people's victory.

LET'S SEE WHAT THEY ARE GOING TO DO

Renmin Ribao Editorial, October 11, 1958

Six days have passed since the publication of the message of Peng Teh-huai, our Minister of National Defence, to compatriots in Taiwan. The guns are quiet at the Quemoy front, but the situation in the Taiwan Straits remains stormy.

Wide strata of compatriots, military and civilian, in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu welcome Minister Peng Teh-huai's message. The military men and civilians on Quemoy have received supplies freely. The hope of a peaceful settlement hovers once again in the minds of the people. But the publicly announced reaction of the Taiwan authorities cannot be regarded as serious and sincere. The message was alleged to be a "trick," a "breathing spell before a new offensive" and a demand for "unconditional surrender." It was described as "sowing discord in Kuomintang-American co-operation" and so on and so forth. Perhaps the fighting has been going on much too long — 30 years already; so it is understandable that all this inevitably came as a sort of "conditioned reflex." But any serious-minded person will have no difficulty in finding that this is not a "trick," because the artillery fire has truly been stopped beyond the shadow of a doubt. Nor is it a "breathing spell," for the powerful People's Liberation Army only lifted its little finger in the past period

of time. How could it be in need of a "breathing spell"? It is not a demand for "unconditional surrender" either, for Minister Peng Teh-huai has clearly stated: "We propose that talks be held to effect a peaceful settlement." Since it is "talks" and not arbitrary orders, a "peaceful settlement" and not settlement by force, it will of course be based on mutual consent. How can it be an "unconditional surrender"? People have probably not forgotten what Premier Chou En-lai once declared some two years and three months ago:

> . . . All patriotic people, regardless of whether they joined the patriotic ranks earlier or later, and regardless of how great the crimes they committed in the past may have been, will be treated in accordance with the principle that "patriots belong to one family" and the policy of no punishment for past misdeeds; they are all welcome to perform meritorious service for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and will be duly rewarded according to the degree of their merit and provided with appropriate jobs.

The message of Minister Peng Teh-huai is a solemn patriotic call, beckoning all compatriots, military and civilian, on Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu, to return to the fold of the motherland.

As to "the sowing of discord," it is really too much for us. Your relations with the Americans have not been so pleasant to begin with. We are not inclined and would not stoop to putting spokes in the wheels of such an inglorious axis. We only demand that the Americans stop interfering in China's internal affairs, stop trying to ride roughshod over us Chinese. You, too, know the bitter taste of living under somebody else's thumb and currying to

his every whim. The Americans in Taiwan consider themselves overlords. They run wild, rape and rob, poking into every nook and corner and doing every imaginable evil. This humiliation has lasted for nine years. Has the time not come to write finis to this? Of course, you may have your own ideas on the subject. But in any event, hanging on to America's coat-tails is no way out. For the Americans, too, the forcible occupation of Taiwan and Penghu will bring them no good in the end. Is it not true that thousands of accusing fingers and angry eyes are now focussed on the Americans and that they have many nooses round their necks? Even they themselves know that their path is strewn with pitfalls. There are already some people in the United States who feel that the present way of doing things cannot go on very long. There are already schemes of "demilitarization," "neutralization," "trusteeship," and propping up such puppets as Liao Wen-yi[1] and his ilk. Of course, the Chinese people strongly oppose all this. We believe you will also disagree, for otherwise where will you find shelter when such things do happen? It is not without reason that your Huang Shao-ku[2] wasted so much breath on this. The trend is unmistakable: the Americans will finally leave you in the lurch. Since things have come to such a pass, it is better for you to respect peace and patriotism, repent and return to the fold of the motherland, and the

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[1] Liao Wen-yi is the main figure in the so-called "Provisional Government of the Republic of Taiwan," a farce directed by Washington and staged in Japan. — *Tr.*

[2] Huang Shao-ku is the so-called "foreign minister" of the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Taiwan. — *Tr.*

sooner the better. The door of the motherland is always wide open to all who wish to come back.

China's internal affairs should be handled by the Chinese themselves. The civil war between us has been going on for 30 years. These 30 years, with the exception of a year or two when there was no fighting, were all spent in wars, large and small — large ones like the Huai-hai Campaign and small ones like the current fighting on the Quemoy front. This is China's internal affair. No foreign country has the right to butt in. That is precisely why we firmly reject the so-called "cease-fire" proposed by the Americans. China and the United States have not opened fire on each other, so there is no fire to cease. There are flames of war within China, but the fighting is between the Chinese themselves. To fight or to stop fighting, how long the fighting will go on and how long it will be suspended should and can only be settled by the Chinese themselves. Now our troops on the Fukien front have temporarily suspended their shelling of Quemoy for a period of seven days starting from October 6. The condition is that there will be no American escort. This is to provide opportunities for the Chiang Kai-shek troops in Quemoy to bring in supplies and also for the Taiwan authorities to consider a peaceful settlement.

This is also a moment of test for the Americans. Dulles has admitted that "it is not easy to evaluate" Minister of Defence Peng Teh-huai's message, and has said that he would have to "review the situation." But he also insinuated that the temporary one-week cessation of the shelling of Quemoy by our troops is the so-called "cease-fire" which the United States has been seeking all along. This, of course, is absurd. What is even more preposterous, he now wants a "permanent cease-fire." The Chinese

people long ago resolutely rejected the so-called "cease-fire" proposed by the United States. This is not only because there is no firing between China and the United States to cease but, more important still, because the "cease-fire" put forward by the United States is a trick to try and get China's consent to the extension of U.S. aggression from Taiwan and Penghu to Quemoy and Matsu, to legalize U.S. aggression, and to bind the Chinese people hand and foot so that they cannot liberate Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu. The Chinese people will certainly not tolerate this. At present, the Chinese government proposes direct peace talks with the Taiwan authorities. Dulles is now put in an extremely embarrassing position. Didn't Dulles say that he sought to "promote the prospects of a just and durable peace"? If he meant what he said, then the United States must pass five tests: first, stop the so-called "escort" operations; second, stop intruding into the territorial waters and air space of the Chinese mainland; third, stop armed provocations and war threats; fourth, stop interfering in Chinese internal affairs; and fifth, withdraw all U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. How did events shape up in the past few days? As to "escort" operations, the U.S. State Department announced on October 8 that it had for the time being suspended its escorting of the Chiang Kai-shek troops. This may be taken as acceptance of the condition put forward by our Ministry of National Defence. But this is far from adequate and leaves a loop-hole for resuming the so-called "escort" operations. As to the intrusions into China's territorial waters and air space by U.S. war vessels and aircraft, this happened many times on October 6. Although no such intrusions have been reported in the Quemoy area since 06:00 hours

on October 7, U.S. war vessels and aircraft were spotted in the Matsu and Pingtan areas on successive occasions, intruding into Chinese territorial waters and air space. So it cannot be said that the Americans have passed this particular test. As to the other three tests, it remains to be seen how the United States will behave. In any case, it must pass all five of these tests, otherwise how can it talk about "promoting the prospects of a just and durable peace"? China is willing to hold talks with the United States, to seek a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the two countries. At present these talks are going on in Warsaw. The question now depends on whether the United States has the sincerity to seek a settlement of the dispute. The test of American sincerity lies in whether it will pass these five tests.

Confronting both the Taiwan authorities and the U.S. government is the question of where to go. But the nature of the question in the two cases is entirely different. The question before the Taiwan authorities is an internal affair of the Chinese; be it the supply of Quemoy, or the time, place and procedure of peace talks — all this can be solved by the Chinese themselves. An over-all peaceful settlement of the question of Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu can be worked out. The question before the U.S. government, however, is one between two countries: China and the United States. If the United States is really sincere, then the question is not difficult to settle under the principle of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and refraining from the use of force or threats.

It appears that the question needs further examination and tests, and the time for its solution is still far off.

Imperialism is after all imperialism, and reactionaries are after all reactionaries. Let's see what they are going to do!

ON THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK-DULLES TALKS

Renmin Ribao Editorial, October 30, 1958

Not long ago, U.S. Secretary of State Dulles went to Taiwan and held talks with Chiang Kai-shek. Now the United States is ballyhooing these talks as marking a change in U.S. policy towards China, as having strengthened the unity between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek and as a manifestation of U.S. peaceful intentions. There is indeed a change in U.S. policy towards China — its plot to create "two Chinas" is coming out into the open. This change, however, merely amounts to the implementation in another form of its policy of aggression and war against China. There are no peaceful intentions whatsoever about it. Dulles' aim in these talks was to force Chiang to accept the "two Chinas" scheme. He has actually made some gains in this respect. However, his dream is far from being realized. As to the lip-service paid to greater unity, that is just so much eyewash.

Imperialism always bullies the weak and submissive; it is afraid of the firm and strong. Faced with the Chinese people's daily growing strength, the old U.S. methods of aggression against China are already of no avail. The United States has met with shameful defeats in its several serious tests of strength with the Chinese people. Of late, U.S. military provocations and war threats against China in the Taiwan Straits area have aroused even greater indignation among the Chinese people. The 650 million Chinese people have launched a mighty campaign to defend the motherland and oppose U.S. aggression; they are ready to deal telling blows at any time against the aggressor who dares invade their land. The just struggle of the Chinese people has won the support of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, of many Asian-African countries and all the peace-loving countries and peoples. The whole world strongly condemns the United States for playing with fire; even among its allies, no one besides Syngman Rhee and Nobusuke Kishi has openly indicated his willingness to act as a U.S. accomplice. Inside the United States, public opinion universally opposes these war provocations against China. It is this very unfavourable situation that has forced the United States to change to some new tricks in its policy towards China. By this change the Republican Administration in the United States tries to allay denunciations by world opinion and the discontent of its allies and also to fool the voters in the forthcoming congressional elections.

The plot to create "two Chinas" was hatched by the United States a long time ago. In the past, the U.S. mostly stayed behind the scenes, spinning the plot while other countries that took their cue from it put the scheme into action. Now, it has openly come forward on its own. On the eve of publication of the communique on the Chiang-Dulles talks, U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon declared publicly that there was a "need for an independent Chinese government to which both the twelve million people on Formosa and the millions more of overseas Chinese can owe allegiance." In the Chiang-Dulles joint communique of October 23, Dulles forced the Taiwan authorities to accept the so-called principle of no recourse

to the use of force, and granted the Chiang Kai-shek clique the right to represent only "free China." This appeared to be an agreement between Chiang Kai-shek and Dulles. In fact, as early as October 16, in his interview with the correspondent of the British Independent Television Service, Dulles had already taken Chiang Kai-shek's acceptance of this U.S. decision for granted. In that interview, Dulles conferred upon the Chiang Kai-shek clique the title of a small China while declaring that he saw that Communist China actually existed and was willing to deal with it. This was obviously a public bid for "two Chinas."

The creation of "two Chinas," it must be pointed out, is merely a matter of expediency for the United States. The United States wants first to separate Taiwan from China and isolate it completely, so as to facilitate its control over the Chiang Kai-shek clique and strengthen its occupation of Taiwan. But this is only a first step. Once Taiwan should become a "'de facto political unit" independent of China, the United States could then use some pretext or other to place it under trusteeship. In this way, the United States would make a double gain: on the one hand, it would legalize its seizure of Taiwan and turn that island into a U.S. colony; at the same time, by involving certain other countries, it would get them to share its responsibility for aggression. The Chiang Kai-shek clique clearly has no place in this sinister U.S. scheme. Nixon declared that the aim of the United States in the Far East was to make Taiwan an "island of freedom" rather than "to tie the United States policy to Chiang Kai-shek." Isn't the meaning of these words clear enough?

It is very absurd for the United States to abuse the principle of no recourse to the use of force in international relations, by trying to apply it to China's internal affairs. By so doing, the United States aims to tie the hands of the Taiwan authorities and make them completely subservient to the U.S. The Taiwan authorities are not unaware of this. That is why, after the release of the Chiang-Dulles joint communique, they made such a hullabaloo about there being reservations to their declaration on renunciation of the use of force. However, the United States featured this same declaration as its major victory. Both parties are clinging to their own interpretation and making a big fuss about it. It was in these circumstances that, at his press conference on October 28, Dulles as if handing down a verdict, came out bluntly with the remark that, despite all their reservations, the Taiwan authorities "didn't have much chance of winning by force." Coming from Dulles, isn't this a deliberate attempt to make it difficult for the Taiwan authorities even to drag on their miserable existence?

We stated long ago that it is absolutely impossible for the U.S. to carry through its plot of creating "two Chinas" so as to occupy Taiwan indefinitely. The Chinese people who have stood up are confident that they can smash this U.S. plot. There is only one China in the world, not two. Every patriotic Chinese opposes the "two Chinas" scheme. The masses of overseas Chinese oppose it. Even the Taiwan authorities do not agree to it. On October 24 Chiang Kai-shek said that Taiwan and the mainland were part of the same entity, with a flesh and blood relationship, sharing the common weal and woe. We believe that the U.S. scheme to split China and create "two

Chinas" will be utterly defeated if the whole Chinese people unite and face the foreign foe.

The United States realizes that a direct proposal of the "two Chinas" scheme just will not work. That is why it is employing a series of crafty devices such as demands for a cease-fire, renunciation of the use of force, reduction of Chiang Kai-shek's troops on the offshore islands, and so on and so forth. But no patriotic Chinese will permit the U.S. to use such devices to meddle in the internal affairs of China and realize its aim of creating "two Chinas."

The U.S. is purposely confusing public opinion in order to sell the world its scheme for the creation of "two Chinas." The U.S. says: just as there can be two Koreas, two Vietnams, two Germanys, why can't there be "two Chinas"? But this is absolutely ridiculous. The existence of two Germanys is an outcome of the Second World War. The division of Korea and Vietnam into northern and southern parts is a temporary state of affairs provided for by the relevant international agreements. They provide no basis for comparison with the forcible U.S. occupation of Taiwan and its obstruction of the unification of China. The U.S. has used every possible means and done its utmost to obstruct the unification of Germany, Korea and Vietnam, and now it is trying to turn division of these three nations into a justification for creating "two Chinas" and perpetuating its occupation of Taiwan. Not only is this an utterly untenable position; it exposes the U.S. crimes of aggression all over the world.

Faced by the resolute opposition of the Chinese people, the U.S. is planning to implement its "two Chinas" plot by means of a so-called international settlement. It is trying to get the question of the situation in the Taiwan

Straits area submitted to the United Nations. It is true that U.S. aggression against and interference in China have created tension in the Taiwan Straits area and the United Nations should have dealt with it, but since the People's Republic of China is deprived of its legitimate place in the United Nations, the United Nations has lost its competence to handle this question. As to the Chinese people's liberation of Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu to complete the unification of their motherland, this is an internal matter and the U.N. has no right to interfere in it at all. No Chinese with any sense of self-respect will ever agree to the submission of this question to the U.N. The U.S. is also trying to interfere in China's internal affairs and obstruct the Chinese people's liberation of Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu through some sort of international court, referendum, international mediation or other kind of so-called international settlement. The Chinese people will tolerate none of this. We are convinced that no fair-minded nation or people will fall into these U.S. traps.

The U.S. knows perfectly well that the Chinese people will never, under any circumstances, allow the U.S. plot for creating "two Chinas" to succeed. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the sacred task of uniting their motherland. Yet the U.S. is trying hard to split China and is even using military provocations and threats of war in its attempt to compel the Chinese people to accept "two Chinas." This is bound to result in a continuation of tension in the Taiwan Straits area and even in a worsening of the situation. For this reason, the key to eliminating tension in the Taiwan Straits area is for the U.S. to stop its military provocations against China immediately, abandon its interference

in China's internal affairs and pull out all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.

There are quite a few people who are worried that U.S. war provocations in the Taiwan Straits area may lead to world war. Such apprehensions are understandable. There are some war maniacs in the United States who very much want to start a war in the Taiwan Straits or in other parts of the world; we must be on our guard. But U.S. imperialism is tough-looking outside but really timid within, strong-looking outside but brittle within. Such things as the U.S. policy of positions of strength and the policy of brinkmanship cannot blackmail the Chinese people into submission. On the contrary, sabre-rattling by the U.S. and its war cries can only isolate it still more from the rest of the world. Although the U.S. aggressors are bellicose by nature, they will have to think twice before they launch a war against a powerful China which has the support of the people throughout the world. The people of all of China and of the world can see once again from recent developments in the Taiwan Straits area that U.S. imperialism is a mere paper tiger. As long as the peoples of the world strengthen their unity and are resolute in the struggle, the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war can be utterly defeated.

SCORN IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES

Renmin Ribao Editorial, November 12, 1958

Publication of the important document "Comrade Mao Tse-tung on Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers" is an event of great political significance. It immediately attracted everyone's attention in the factories, in the countryside, in government offices and armed forces, in schools, the press and among the people in general throughout the nation. In every part of the country its publication set off a fresh wave of enthusiastic study of its contents. Quite a number of questions are included in the discussions which are now going on everywhere. Among the major issues discussed are the following: a realization that the forces of the new are bound to defeat the forces of decay; the relation between the victory of the Chinese revolution and the strategic concepts of Comrade Mao Tse-tung; the growth and decline respectively of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution in the Chinese revolutionary struggle; the question of the Chinese people's fight against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the liberation of Taiwan; the significance of speeding up China's socialist economic construction; the relative strength of the socialist and imperialist camps and their future development; the growth of the national independence movements, and so on. Study of this document has helped the Chinese people to in-

crease their political understanding greatly and to become more militant in spirit; it has given fuller play to their revolutionary attitude of contempt for imperialism and all reactionaries.

The present struggle of the peoples of all lands against imperialism — mainly the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and oppression — is surging forward like a tidal wave. Despite the fact that U.S. imperialism's policies of "positions of strength" and "brink of war" have gone bankrupt and its aggressive activities have suffered repeated failures in face of the firm resistance of all the peoples, it still bares its fangs, moves its fleets from place to place and brandishes its atomic weapons in its attempts to blackmail and threaten the peoples of the world. In such circumstances, it is extremely important that the people of the world should not be confused by the outward show of the imperialist reactionaries but should clearly understand that they are essentially only paper tigers. Only when it is clearly realized that the blustering and sabre-rattling of the U.S. imperialists everywhere is merely a manifestation of the fact that they are outwardly strong but brittle within, can we greatly enhance our confidence and courage in the struggle, work out our strategic plans correctly and lead the people to advance triumphantly. The conclusion that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers" is our sharpest ideological weapon in defeating imperialism and all the reactionaries.

Ours is an age that is filled with revolutionary struggles and revolutionary victories, an age in which the revolutionary forces of the new continuously defeat the reactionary forces of decay. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution opened up the entirely new

era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. Although only a short forty-one years have elapsed since then, world-shaking changes have already come over the face of the earth. Socialism is no longer confined to a single country, it has grown into a powerful socialist camp embracing a population close to 1,000 million people. Anti-imperialist national revolutionary movements are in full course in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The forces of socialism and the forces of national revolution are converging to become an irresistible historical current that is violently shaking the last bastions of imperialist reactionary rule. On the imperialist side things are going in an entirely opposite direction. The imperialist camp as a whole is powerless to free itself from economic crises; the situation of the U.S. imperialists is especially grave. The reactionary forces in some countries which the U.S. supports have failed to cope with daily deepening political and revolutionary crises and have taken to the road of fascism and military dictatorship. This does not show the strength of the imperialists and these reactionaries; on the contrary, it is an indication of their daily weakening, a sign that they are on their way to final defeat and ruin.

Imperialism and all the reactionaries will soon collapse. It is the imperialist reactionaries that should fear the revolutionary forces, and not the other way round. But, even now there are many people who still overestimate the strength of the imperialist reactionaries, and underestimate the revolutionary strength of the people. They only see the apparent strength of the imperialist reactionaries, not the fact that they are essentially weak. They only see that the development of the people's strength in certain places for the moment appears to be

slow, but fail to see that the people are awakening and rallying together and will eventually overthrow all their oppressors and emerge triumphant. They only see that certain areas under the rule of the reactionary forces are temporarily quiet on the surface, but fail to see that the flames of the people's revolution are smouldering there beneath the surface, that they will eventually burst forth all of a sudden and utterly consume the forces of decay. All these ideas are badly in error. They only serve to puff up our enemies and lower our own morale; they are of no advantage to the revolutionary cause of the people.

There are those who still think that the West is advanced while the East is backward. This is sheer superstition! It is actually the reverse that is true. The West has long since become backward. It is the East that is advanced. Lenin affirmed long ago that Asia was going ahead of Europe. Now, the socialist camp is incomparably the more powerful; Asia, Africa and Latin America are shining bright while the Western imperialist world is withering away. The imperialist West is like the setting sun in the evening while the socialist and nationalist East is like the rising sun in the morning. One may well ask: What in the world can give the Western imperialist countries the right to be called advanced? Can the criminal social system they maintain, a system of exploitation and oppression of man by man, be called advanced? Can they be called advanced while they invade other countries and plunder their peoples and suppress the national independence movements in other lands? Can they be called advanced while their science and technology are made to serve the purposes of war and the interests of a few, and fail completely to benefit the people? Can they be called advanced while their cultures have

sunk into an impasse, are divorced from the people, overlaid by decadence and despondency, and so degenerated that chimpanzees are lauded as "great artists"? They are backward and vulgar. All the revolutionary people have every reason to scorn them.

There are still people who think that the strength of the West is not to be despised. This is also superstition! The Western imperialists have come up against the resistance of the peoples throughout the world and also the opposition of the peoples of their own countries. They are divided and at odds at home; and they have no hope of getting support from the people. Their so-called strength is built on sand. It is nothing more than certain amounts of iron and steel plus a few atomic bombs. These are used by the U.S. imperialists to threaten other peoples. But Marxist-Leninists have always considered that the final victory or defeat in a war is not decided by the weapons used but by the men who use the weapons. Not only this, nuclear weapons are now not only in the hands of the United States. The Soviet Union has had them too for a long time. And in certain fields of military science and technology, for instance in inter-continental ballistic missiles, the United States has lagged far behind the Soviet Union. As to iron and steel, nobody is going to be scared by that. It is not only that iron and steel are not the only factors in determining the balance of forces but that the superiority in iron and steel output which the United States and the imperialist camp possess vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, will soon disappear. The so-called theory of "weapons decide everything" and "iron and steel decide everything" is utterly untenable.

There are some people who still think it best not to nettle the U.S. imperialists, because that will put them into even more of a frenzy and so wouldn't be in the interests of world peace. But the question is who, after all, is nettling whom? The United States meddles in the internal affairs of other countries, encroaches upon their sovereignty, invades their territories and forcibly establishes military bases on their soil. Aren't these acts of the United States "nettling" others? All the peoples of the world who are suffering from U.S. aggression and oppression are rising to halt it, oppose it and expel it. If this is called "nettling," well, what's wrong with such nettling? Could peace be secured if the peoples refrained from halting U.S. imperialism, opposing it and expelling it? Of course not! On the contrary, to act differently would simply mean to pamper aggression which in the upshot will only make the imperialist reactionaries even more violent than they are. After all, reactionaries are reactionaries and imperialism is imperialism. Even if you don't nettle them, they will nettle you just the same. U.S. imperialism is engaged in expansion and aggression all over the world and this is not because anybody has nettled it. Genuine peace will be secured only by waging a resolute struggle against each and every aggressive act of U.S. imperialism, by chopping off its octopus arms. It just won't do to be scared of nettling imperialism.

Viewed from the over-all situation in the struggle, the way their relative strength is developing and the essence of the matter, imperialism and all reactionaries aré paper tigers. The revolutionary people have every reason to scorn them. But, in the actual struggles they wage against imperialism and in regard to concrete questions, the revolutionary people should take full account of

the enemy and mobilize every effort in the fight to ensure victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us: "In order to struggle against the enemy, we have formed the concept over a long period, namely, that strategically we should despise all enemies, and tactically take them seriously. This also means that we should despise the enemy in general but take him seriously on each and every concrete question." Moreover, the closer imperialist reactionaries approach their doom, the more convulsive will be their deathbed kicks. The revolutionary people and the forces of peace must be vigilant and ready at any time to send the imperialist reactionaries to the graves they themselves have dug whenever they run amuck.

The great strategic concept of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," and his brilliant thesis on the certain triumph of the revolutionary forces and the inevitable defeat of the reactionary forces, have been borne out by the great victory of the Chinese revolution and also by the series of major victories won by the people of the world in their struggle against imperialism. It is an invincible Marxist-Leninist ideological weapon. All of us Chinese will continue to study it more thoroughly; we will arm ourselves the better with this brilliant concept of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, so as to make even greater contributions and win even greater victories in the struggle to carry forward China's revolution, to defend world peace and put an end to imperialism.

帝国主义和一切反动派都是紙老虎
（扩大本）
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